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SCHOOL DISTRICT REORGANIZATION IN RURAL MANITOBA

by

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A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "School District Reorganization in Rural Manitoba" submitted by John Jacob Bergen in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

ABSTRACT

The problem of this thesis was to examine certain factors related to the progress of school district reorganization in rural Manitoba. The two major factors were the provincial legislation and local conditions within school districts and communities.

At the outset of the study it was found useful to review historical, political, and socio-economic factors in order to provide a basic mosaic within which the problem could be examined with some perspective. Also, reorganization legislation and practices in other provinces and in the American states were reviewed in order to establish a setting within which the Manitoba situation could be evaluated by comparison and contrast.

The study involved two kinds of data: relevant documentary material, and survey data with respect to current conditions within the rural districts of the province. The latter were secured by means of questionnaires to inspectors of schools, secretary-treasurers of school divisions, and teachers of rural schools.

School district reorganization procedures and practices were examined under the following headings: (1) planning of reorganization; (2) implementation of reorganization; (3) disestablishment of districts; (4) centralization of schools; and, (5) sharing of services between districts. School legislation in Manitoba was examined by using evaluative criteria obtained from the relevant literature and by comparing Manitoba's legislation with that in other provinces and in the United States. Special attention was given to the application and apparent consequences of Manitoba's legislation. Local conditions within school districts and

communities were analyzed in terms of: (1) educational needs within districts; (2) school district administration; and, (3) community interests and activities.

It was concluded that historical, political, and sociological factors weighed heavily in the determination of Manitoba's system of school district organization and also in the formulation of legislation related to district reorganization. The nature of such legislation was for many years entirely permissive and substantial reorganization did not begin until some mandatory provisions were introduced. Reorganization, therefore, was found to result not so much from local initiative as from action taken at the provincial level of government. It was also found that a demonstration of educational needs by itself did not bring about local action for change. No outstanding differences with respect to local attitudes and initiative were discovered among the selected divisions.

It seems, therefore, that the local district or community left to its own devices neither seeks nor demands change. Impetus for change essentially comes from without the local community, and leadership at the provincial level of government is of paramount importance. This finding is in agreement with the claims of Griffiths, Blau, Scott, Reller, and others, that organizations, once established, seek to maintain their continued existence. This inherent characteristic, essential to the maintenance of an organization, can at the same time be inhibitory to desirable change.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

Manitoba has had a peculiar history in school district reorganization. It led the Canadian provinces during the first quarter of the century in consolidation of small rural school districts. On the other hand, only in recent years did Manitoba follow the reorganizing trend in most provinces by accepting one form of a larger unit of school administration throughout the province. This move was made after a series of submissions over a period of forty years by committees and commissions recommending extensive school district reorganization, and after isolated experiments had been tried in the form of municipal school districts, secondary school districts, and one school area.

School district reorganization has been a live and pertinent issue in the province since the establishment of the Royal Commission on Education in 1957. Though extensive reorganization took place when the secondary school division plan was accepted in 1959, the total school district organizational pattern, particularly with respect to elementary education in rural Manitoba, has not been accepted as entirely satisfactory. Further reorganization is imminent. An investigation into the current status of school districts and into the reorganization process was therefore considered relevant. Such an investigation necessarily includes an examination of the legislation, the school grants, and the mechanics and procedures of reorganization which determine the

characteristics of school district organization in the province.

After visiting schools in Alberta in 1946, Charles E. Phillips remarked that ". . . nothing about education in Alberta is finished -- everything is moving on. Everyone you meet who is concerned about education has a glint in his eye which marks him as one who is looking ahead" (15:181). If Manitoba educators have had this glint in their eyes, it came more than a decade later, and after much hard work on the part of schoolmen and Department of Education officials to overcome the inertia of tradition.

II. GENERAL STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The purpose of the thesis was to study school district organization and reorganization in rural Manitoba.

III. IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOL DISTRICT REORGANIZATION

General Significance

The purpose of the school district, or of any school administrative unit, is to provide a satisfactory school program (7:18; 16:9-14; 19:4-9). So that this purpose might be achieved, good teachers and able administrators must be secured and adequate facilities and accommodation must be provided. School buildings should be located where they are needed most. The district should be able to adapt itself to shifts in pupil population. Furthermore, the school program should be financed efficiently and effectively. It is also considered desirable that the

local electorate have the opportunity to register its will with respect to the total educational program.

School districts, however, may be found to be ineffective, inefficient, and unadaptable. Not all school districts are effective in that they provide a satisfactory school program. Some school districts are inefficient in that the cost of providing the school program is disproportionately high, or in that the utilization of staff and facilities is far from the optimum. School districts may be unadaptable in that adjustments to changing conditions are made poorly; there may be a lag in adaptation to changing needs in the school or to changing characteristics in the school community. Shortcomings commonly found to be characteristic of poor school district organization are the small size of school districts, the inadequacy of educational services, and the inability of districts to finance a satisfactory school program (3:15-18; 19:8-13; 21:23-24). Commonly associated with the foregoing factors are poorly qualified staff, a high per pupil cost, and inefficient staff utilization due primarily to low enrolments.

Other factors call for school district reorganization. Socio-economic conditions have changed. The population has become more mobile. The efficiency of transportation and communication has improved. More is being demanded of schools. There is also an apparent need for more competent district leadership (6:1-5). The AASA Commission on School District Reorganization underlined the importance of the matter as follows:

This is no time for the perpetuation of outmoded, inefficient, weak school districts. Permitting such districts to thwart the efforts of people who want good schools and are earnestly striving to have good schools; permitting such districts to perpetuate meager, barren educational programs at a time when the need for highly developed skills, understanding, and ability is so great, is a false luxury this country cannot now afford. Reorganization of school districts is an imperative national need (16:14).

In 1956 English completed a study of the reorganized system of school administration in British Columbia (5:3). He stated that the aims of school district reorganization in the Canadian provinces were first of all the equalization of educational opportunity within a given area, the elimination of existing inequalities between districts, and the distribution of the burden of taxation. He indicated further that the aim of reorganization was to make possible the development of a broad educational program at the secondary level and the provision of improved supervision and leadership. Furthermore, reorganization was associated with the securing of greater financial resources and with the promotion of greater efficiency and economy.

American authors emphasized district reorganization aims similar to those listed by English (7:9; 22:14). Other goals of reorganization mentioned are the provision of a coordinated program, the strengthening of effective local control, the closing of non-operating school districts, the consolidation of small schools, and the elimination of a dual elementary and secondary school district structure. Fitzwater, an American authority on school district reorganization, claimed that:

Few educational responsibilities have greater far-reaching importance to the people of a State than the establishment of a sound local

district structure for administering the schools. Keeping that structure adapted to changing conditions in our society by reorganization of small ineffective districts into larger administrative units more capable of providing needed educational services has for many years been a persistent problem in American education . . . (7:x).

It is conceivable that there may never be as many good teachers as are needed, nor all the facilities that could be used to good advantage, nor enough money to purchase all the desired facilities and services. Certainly, there will never be enough time to teach all that is worthwhile learning. Adequate schools are an aid to optimum utilization of the available resources of time, services, and facilities. Good school district organization can promote the establishment and operation of better schools. However, adequate schools do not automatically result from school district reorganization, as was indicated in 1959 by Reeves:

In Canada, however, district reorganization is not synonymous with the establishment of satisfactory schools. Large rural administrative units, in most instances, merely make the formation of sound attendance areas more feasible (20:54).

Reeves further pointed out that:

There are too many examples of small, inadequate schools being built after the formation of the large units. Such a policy is nearsighted and expensive. Too often such schools stand as landmarks to poor planning, to a failure to understand social change and to an inability to influence people (20:55).

In 1953 Fitzwater, upon examining educational change in reorganized school districts in the United States, expressed a similar concern:

. . . the establishment of larger districts is not a magic process automatically resulting in improvement of educational services. It merely makes such improvements possible.

. . . Reorganization is the essential first step, but implementation of its purposes comes after the new districts have been created (6:1-2).

In the same study Fitzwater indicated that of the reorganized districts, about 73 per cent had added courses to the secondary program and about 68 per cent had added courses to the elementary program. Additional services provided in many of the districts included testing programs, visual aid services, central library services, cumulative record systems, health services, remedial reading facilities, and special service personnel such as subject supervisors, guidance counsellors and nurses. Larger districts were also involved in curriculum development programs and in-service education for teachers (6:34-47).

Significance for Manitoba

The school division plan was introduced with apparent relative ease in Manitoba. This may indicate that the people of the province were ready for such reorganization -- in fact, it may have been overdue. The division plan was not made mandatory, but was accepted by a referendum in each division. Much of this success appears to have been due to adequate legislation providing for an orderly change-over, a new grant structure encouraging the formation of school divisions, and government leadership in explaining the advantages of the new system.

By 1966 school divisions were organized and established throughout the province. The benefit to those aspiring to achieve a high school education was evident in that secondary enrolment increased from about 33,800 to 56,700 during the 1958-1965 period. However, by 1965 there were more than 1300 elementary school districts, more than 800 of which

operated one-room schools, and about 250 of which were not operating any schools (17). It was probable that many small rural schools would continue to operate as long as rural school district reorganization did not take place on a scale comparable to that of the introduction of the secondary school divisions in 1959. Such reorganization was not likely to take place unless certain controllable factors were changed.¹ It was considered useful that some of the pertinent factors be examined, and that it be determined in what way these factors might be altered or controlled in order to promote reorganization. This was all the more significant because the political climate in Manitoba (by tradition and practice) was one that not likely would promote mandatory legislation in order to bring about reorganization. According to a statement

¹Organization theory explains that an organization, behaving as a living organism, strives to survive and to maintain its equilibrium even after its initial goals are achieved. The organization becomes an end in itself and the satisfaction of its own needs become a real goal (1:229). It could be contended that a school district, as an organization, resists change or dissolution, even if the original goal of operating a school has ceased to be. Griffiths (9) theorizes that organizational systems are characterized by stability rather than change, and that increments of change are small. Radical changes may cause the disappearance of the original organizations and the appearance of new ones. Griffiths theorizes further that the stimuli to change come primarily from outside of an organizational system, that is, the stimuli are caused by the impingement of the environmental suprasystem upon the organizational system. School divisions in rural Manitoba were brought about by such "external" stimuli as new legislation, a new grant system, and government leadership in explaining the new system. The local electorate was stimulated to respond in a mandatory referendum. A similar series of "external" stimuli have initiated changes in elementary school district organization. Change can be brought about quite deliberately in order to solve recognized problems.

attributed to the Premier late in 1964, it appeared that the principle of local choice was to be observed (4).

Another point of urgency was indicated in that not only various commissions, officials of the Department of Education, and the Manitoba Teachers' Society had urged reorganization, but also in that the submissions of several bodies which represented rural opinion, indicated a degree of readiness to accept consolidation and centralization as inevitable and as an eventual necessity (2; 10; 11; 12).

In 1963 the Manitoba Teachers' Society called for rural reorganization, pointing out that the small school districts could not afford expenditures for special facilities (such as libraries), that the assistance of supervisory staff for rural schools was not available, that there was no equalization of elementary school costs, and that the drop-out was high. Commenting on the qualifications of rural school teachers, the Society stated that of 944 teachers in one-room schools in 1962 only 6 had more than a matriculation Grade XII standing and one year teacher training, and that 390 had less than matriculation Grade XII and one year teacher training. The median teaching experience of these teachers was 4 years compared with 7 years for urban centers. The retention of teachers in the same schools was 1.2 years in comparison to a median of 3.0 years for urban centers (14:2, 12-15).

Concurrently, in 1963, the Manitoba School Trustees' Association had recommended that an "elementary area commission be established to map out logical consolidation centers or modified elementary areas across

the province and to direct and assist the centralization of schools (13:3). It had also suggested that no capital grants be paid for one-room schools and that closed school districts be dissolved after five years (13:4). The Association emphasized its stand further by stating that it felt "that the trend toward consolidation is much too slow and that, unless some drastic measures are taken, Manitoba's schools will continue to flounder in a horse and buggy system" (13:7).

It was felt, therefore, that any study which might add to the eventual implementation of rural centralization of elementary schools might be deemed well worth while.

IV. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this thesis was to examine certain factors related to the progress of school district reorganization in rural Manitoba. In part, the historical, political, and socio-economic forces that have affected the course of school district development were scrutinized. More specifically, an analysis was made of the apparent relationship of school legislation and of local educational and community conditions to school district reorganization.

Sub-problems

The greater concern of this study was focused upon the investigation of two major sub-problems. These sub-problems were:

1. to examine the Manitoba school legislation pertaining to
 - a) school district reorganization procedures, and
 - b) school financing,and its relationship to school district reorganization;
2. to examine certain local conditions in selected rural districts and their relationship to school district reorganization.

The first sub-problem involved the examination of the provisions in the Manitoba school legislation with respect to:

- 1) the planning of school district reorganization;
- 2) the implementation of school district reorganization;
- 3) the disestablishment of school districts which i) no longer operated schools, or ii) operated schools with very low enrolments;
- 4) the centralization of rural elementary schools within administrative units; and,
- 5) the sharing of services of one school administrative unit with another.

Reorganization practices were reviewed to illustrate the operation of the legislation and the extent to which it had been effective.

The second sub-problem involved an examination of local conditions with respect to:

- 1) educational needs,
 - 2) school administration, and,
 - 3) community interests and activities,
- with a view to discovering what relationship these conditions had to

school district reorganization.

In order to determine how school legislation affected rural school district reorganization, it was not sufficient to examine the legislation only. School legislation was in part the result of conditions which prevailed locally. If these local conditions, however, warranted changes in the legislation, it was considered possible to indicate what modifications in the legislation would allow a more constructive application to the ongoing situation in rural Manitoba.

V. PROCEDURE OF STUDY

Nature and Sources of Data

Much of the data was of a documentary nature. The Manitoba Public Schools Act, Annual Reports of the Department of Education, reports of various commissions, and theses and books on the historical background of education in Manitoba, were important sources. Much detailed information about school districts was obtained from the records of the Department of Education, from inspectors of schools, school division secretaries, the Manitoba Teachers' Society, the Manitoba School Trustees' Association, and from rural school district teachers. Considerable information was obtained by means of questionnaires and some through interviews of school division secretaries and of officials of the Department of Education.

General Procedure

In order to view school district reorganization in Manitoba within

a larger context, a study of the trends in The United States and in the Canadian provinces was made. Questionnaires were sent to the ten provincial departments of education to obtain information with respect to current developments.

A study was made of the historical setting within which the Manitoba school system developed. This provided some insight into several social, political and economic factors relevant to school legislation and to district reorganization.

Information, relevant to the investigation of the sub-problems of the thesis, was obtained from The Public Schools Act, the Annual Reports of the Manitoba Department of Education, current records of the Department, and from inspectors of schools, secretary-treasurers of school divisions, and teachers from selected divisions, and from various commission and committee reports. The items enumerated under each sub-problem guided the structure of the inquiry.

Questionnaires directed to the inspectors and secretary-treasurers of thirty-five rural school divisions secured information with respect to district reorganization activity during 1965 and 1966. Detailed information about the local conditions in rural districts was obtained by means of a questionnaire directed to teachers of all rural districts within nine selected divisions during the spring of 1965. Interviews were conducted with several secretary-treasurers of school divisions and with officials of the Department of Education.

References to the related literature and to other studies related

to school district reorganization have been made in connection with the discussion of specific topics throughout the thesis.

Treatment of Data

Sections of The Public Schools Act and data from all other sources were evaluated in terms of applicable criteria. The criteria, described in the related parts of the thesis, were derived from the literature pertaining to school district reorganization. Evidence of actual or attempted reorganization was included in order to substantiate the conclusions derived from an analysis of the legislation with the help of the selected criteria. The analysis of data was descriptive rather than statistical.

VI. DEFINITION OF TERMS

School district reorganization. For the purpose of this thesis the term refers principally to the creation of new school administrative units by combining the territory of two or more smaller districts; it includes the alteration of boundaries between districts, the centralization of schools within districts, and the implementation of shared services between districts.

School district. As defined by The Public Schools Act, the term means "a district for public school purposes formed or continued under this Act" (18:s.2),¹ which could imply that the term includes every form

¹Throughout the thesis, wherever reference is made to a section of any statute, the abbreviation "s." is used.

of school administrative unit within the province. The Act has defined the powers and duties of the boards of municipal school districts (18:s.142), of school areas (18:s.35), and of school divisions (18:s.453), as being those of the board of a school district "except where any of them are obviously inapplicable or inconsistent with other provisions" (18:s.453). Since the school district has been the basic unit of school administration, and since any reorganization affects the basic unit, the term school district has been used as a general concept implying any school administrative unit. As this study has dealt primarily with the problem of the large number of small rural school administrative units, the term school district was considered convenient and appropriate. Whenever reference has been made to the school area or to school divisions only, the latter terms have been used. Specific definitions have been provided in the thesis wherever they have been required.

Classification of school districts. Most school districts in Manitoba offered an elementary program only. By 1966 thirty-seven school divisions and one school area provided the secondary program for most of rural Manitoba. Ten additional school divisions administered the total educational program, both elementary and secondary.

The many school districts, which offered an elementary program only following the introduction of school divisions, could be classified in various ways. There were city school districts, such as those of Brandon and Portage la Prairie. There were a large number of town and

village school districts in rural Manitoba. There were the rural school districts, in which the schools were located outside of towns and villages. The only large school districts in rural Manitoba were the municipal school districts, the boundaries of which were more or less coterminous with municipalities. Because of this characteristic some of the school divisions in the metropolitan Winnipeg area at one time were classified as municipal school districts. However, a municipal school district in rural Manitoba did not necessarily imply centralized schools. Though it had only one school board, the assets and liabilities of the former school districts were retained by the property owners within the former districts. Boards were retained for all school districts within the one school area, but they shared control of the elementary schools with the area board (18).

Union school districts could be "rural" only, or include a town or village; such a district had lands in two or more municipalities. Consolidated school districts could have rural, town, or village schools; the union of two or more school districts resulted in the formation of a consolidated district (18).

Schools could be classified as city, town or village, and rural ("rural" implying that the school was not located within the boundaries of a town or village); rural schools could be sub-classified as graded and non-graded ("non-graded" implying that one teacher only was in charge of the school).

There were no significant differences between "rural," union, and consolidated school districts, if all three did not include a town or village school. The union school district received tax revenues from two or more municipalities; the consolidated district might have operated a one-room school with a low enrolment. There was some difference between the operation of the schools in these districts and that of the "rural" schools within the school area and within a municipal school district.

As a significant purpose of school district reorganization is to provide an improved educational program in schools, it seemed that the most logical classification of school districts (for the purpose of this thesis) was according to the kind of schools they operated -- such as one-room rural, multi-room rural, and larger town or village schools.

VII. ASSUMPTIONS

It was assumed that school district organization affects the quality and efficiency of school operation. A further assumption was that it was possible to obtain a relatively true and accurate profile of the status of school districts with respect to reorganization trends by means of questionnaires, interviews, and a study of departmental and other records.

VIII. DELIMITATIONS

This study was restricted largely to an examination of school

district reorganization in rural Manitoba. Any references to urban systems were included for the purpose of elucidating the over-all educational setting. School districts classified as remote and the Frontier School Division were not included in this study. The general survey was limited to the status of school districts and schools during the 1964-1965 school term.

As a major reorganization of secondary education in rural Manitoba had taken place, the emphasis of this study necessarily focused upon the reorganization of school districts involved in elementary education. However, this did not preclude attention to school divisions as a reorganization of elementary education involves divisions. These latter administrative units become involved in the sharing of services with elementary school districts, or in assuming total responsibility for elementary schools.

The evaluation of legislation in relation to school district reorganization was restricted largely to that which existed at the time of this study. Reference was made to the earlier legislation to the extent it was presumed to have affected the progress of district reorganization.

Though reference has been made to the effect of historical, political, and socio-economical factors to the district reorganization process, it was not the purpose of this study to establish conclusively the effect these factors have had.

It was not the purpose of this thesis to refer to the tasks and

activities of school boards and other administrative bodies, nor to those of the electorate, except insofar as such activities were considered to be relevant to district reorganization. Neither was it an object of this study to examine school financing per se.

IX. LIMITATIONS

This study was limited by the accuracy of departmental records, of reports by school inspectors and other officials, and of responses to questionnaires. It was limited further by the accuracy of the writer's interpretation of such records.

Though the same sets of criteria were considered with respect to all school districts and divisions, the pertinence of the conclusions was limited by the validity of such criteria. Exceptional local conditions may make the criteria relatively untenable with respect to some districts.

X. ORGANIZATION OF THESIS

The thesis was organized as follows:

Chapter II. A review of some of the literature with respect to trends in school district reorganization in The United States and in Canada.

Chapter III. The historical, social, economic, and political setting for Manitoba's school system.

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Chapter VI. An examination of local conditions in rural school divisions and in rural districts within selected divisions with respect to their relationship to school district reorganization.

Chapter VII. Summary and conclusions.

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CHAPTER II

CURRENT TRENDS IN SCHOOL DISTRICT REORGANIZATION

I. INTRODUCTION

It has been stated that the purpose of this thesis was to study school district organization and reorganization in rural Manitoba. Since it was felt that events in Manitoba might be better understood if they were viewed within the context of a wider perspective, it was considered relevant that trends in district reorganization beyond the borders of the province of Manitoba be examined.

The school district as a unit of school government appears to have evolved in the eastern United States, and was adopted and adapted in other parts of that country and also in the Canadian provinces. At least some similarity existed or developed, therefore, in school administrative systems in the two countries. The Special Select Committee of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly on Education, which was appointed in 1944, considered it worth while to visit not only other provinces but also the states of North Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin, before making recommendations with respect to the administration of the public school system of the province (50:5).

II. TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES

Considerable school district reorganization has occurred in many of the American states during the last three decades, and in particular

during the most recent ten or fifteen years. Some of the problems encountered by the midwestern or plains states were not unlike those faced by the prairie provinces. For this reason specific reference is made here to North Dakota and Minnesota which lie adjacent to the Manitoba border. The following are some of the trends in district reorganization that have occurred in the United States.

1. The number of school districts has been progressively decreasing.

Between 1932 and 1964 the number of school districts in the United States and in the two selected states decreased as follows (16:51):

<u>Year</u>	<u>U.S.A.</u>	<u>North Dakota</u>	<u>Minnesota</u>
1932	127,649	2,228	7,773
1948	105,971	2,267	7,606
1953	67,075	2,111	5,298
1964	29,400	627	1,957

About 3,400 of the 29,400 school districts were not operating schools; most of the non-operating districts were in the Great Lakes and Plains region. It has been said that "within the foreseeable future no more than 5,000 districts will be necessary" in all of the United States (54:4).

2. The number of one-teacher schools has been decreasing.

During the 1948-1961 period the number of one-teacher schools

in the nation and in the two selected states decreased as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>U.S.A.</u>	<u>North Dakota</u>	<u>Minnesota</u>
1948	74,832	2,677	4,421
1961	15,018	1,143	1,170

It is expected that the number of one-teacher schools in the nation will drop below the 5,000 mark in the early 1970's (54:5).

3. There has been an accompanying increase in the size of school districts.

During the 1953-1961 interval the number of school districts employing nine or fewer teachers dropped from about 62 per cent to 46 per cent of all districts, whereas the number of districts employing 40 or more teachers increased from about 8 to 18 per cent. Only about one-half per cent of North Dakota's districts and only about 6 per cent of Minnesota's districts employed 40 or more teachers in 1961.

4. An increasing proportion of districts have been offering both elementary and secondary education.

The per cent of elementary-secondary school districts rose from 26.8 to 28.2 per cent during the 1953-1961 interval. In North Dakota the increase was from 24.0 to 31.8 per cent, and in Minnesota from 12.5 to 23.9 per cent (54:6). It has been predicted that the separation of the responsibility for elementary and secondary education would disappear (54:3).

5. There has been an increasing trend of closing non-operating and low enrolment school districts.

Of 33 states which faced the problem of non-operating school districts in 1961, fourteen mandatorily closed such districts. Seven states closed or annexed school districts that fell below a stipulated enrolment. Of the seven mid-western states only Kansas mandatorily closed non-operating school districts, and none mandatorily closed low enrolment districts (54:7).

6. The number of county unit school districts has been increasing.

The county, the local unit of government in the United States, also had become the basic school administrative unit for many of the states by the mid-1950's (13:2). However, three types of county unit school districts have been identified:

(1) the complete type under which all people in a county are under a single county board of education; (2) the partial type under which there are one or more independent, usually urban, districts within a county, with all the rest of the county comprising one school district; and (3) the county as a high school district with numerous subsidiary elementary common school districts in the same territory (54:7).

The first type can be compared to an Alberta school division, which is coterminous with a municipal district, and in which all town and village school districts have chosen to become part of the school division. The second type is much like the Alberta school division in which urban school districts have chosen to remain independent of the rural school division. The third type can be compared to a Manitoba

rural school division, such as was created in 1959, in which elementary school districts retained their autonomy within the same territory; a difference is found in that the Manitoba rural school division was not coterminous with the rural municipality.

7. Proposals have been made for reducing the number of intermediate units.

An intermediate unit serves as a regional service agency which provides and coordinates specialized educational functions which the majority of school districts are unable to provide. It also provides "vertical articulation to the state system of public education," functioning as an intermediate level of school administration between the state department of education and the basic school district (52:5). There have been no school administrative units comparable to the intermediate unit in rural Canada.

By 1964 there were 1,830 county intermediate units in the United States. North Dakota had 53 and Minnesota 79 (15:6).

Ten recent doctoral dissertations relating to administrative units in eight states have offered proposals for the reduction of the number of intermediate units (14). The four cited below are illustrative of the trend of these proposals:

<u>State</u>	<u>Date of Thesis</u>	<u>Number of Units in 1964</u>	<u>Number Proposed by Thesis</u>
Illinois	1964	102	18
Kansas	1962	105	30
Minnesota	1961	79	30
North Dakota	1961	53	18

8. Most reorganization proposals have been approved.

During 1960-1961 only 233 proposals for reorganization were defeated, 177 of them in four states. Over 2,000 proposals were approved. North Dakota approved 15 and defeated one; Minnesota approved 102 and defeated 5 (54:7).

9. There has been a trend towards the formation of multi-community districts.

Political boundaries, rather than sociological boundaries only, have been used in reorganization. This trend is viewed with some concern by the American Association of School Administrators, as it has been considered a desirable objective to establish districts which at the same time form a sociological community (54:3).

It might be pointed out that the Alberta school county and that many of the rural school divisions in Manitoba (as single-district divisions) illustrate the same trend.

Some legislative aspects of school district reorganization in the United States are indicated for comparative purposes in Chapter V,

in which legislation with respect to rural school district reorganization in Manitoba is discussed.

III. TRENDS IN THE CANADIAN PROVINCES

Introduction

As in the American states, school district reorganization in the different provinces has proceeded at different times and at varying rates. The major developments within the individual provinces are indicated in this part of the chapter, and the trends for Canada as a whole are summarized. A general and comparative setting is thereby provided for the study of district reorganization in Manitoba.

Section 93 of The British North America Act, 1867, states in the introductory paragraph that "In and for each province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education subject and according to the following provisions: . . ." The responsibility for education was thus specifically delegated to the provinces. It may be plausible, therefore, to ascribe to this fact the reason why the organization of school administration developed differentially from province to province.

Commenting upon the variation in structure among the ten Canadian school systems, Cheal concluded:

. . . the educational provisions of the B.N.A. Act have resulted in ten Canadian school systems among which there is considerable variation in structure. This variance is due in part to provincial autonomy in educational matters but even more to the particular

stage of development denominational schools had reached in each province immediately prior to its admission to Confederation. In terms of their provisions for denominational schools, the provinces of Canada may be placed in the following five categories which represent a continuum from a multiple denominational system to a single public school system:

1. Newfoundland has a multiple denominational system (seven denominations in 1960) and no public school system, though there are a few 'amalgamated' schools.¹
2. Quebec has a dual school system, a Roman Catholic system and a Protestant system, each operating independently of the other under its own committee of the Council of Education.²
3. Ontario, Saskatchewan, and Alberta have 'separate' schools for the religious minority as an integral part of the public school system, all schools and trustees being governed by the same legislative requirements. Only in Alberta, however, are there 'separate' high schools.³
4. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Manitoba have only a single public school system, but employ members of religious orders and may have certain schools with a denominational character owing to informal arrangements or particular settlement patterns.
5. British Columbia has a single public school system and employs no members of religious orders. All schools of a denominational character are private (7:33-34).

In general, the statistics contained in the Canada Year Book indicate that the number of larger school administrative units has increased, the number of smaller districts has decreased, the number of school boards has decreased, and the number of school trustees has decreased over the 1953-1963 period (3:344). However, an examination of the Year Book tables reveals that the reporting of the types of school units has not been consistent, and that unequal and dissimilar types of

¹Six denominations were reported for 1965 (29:3).

²Quebec has a Ministry of Education, as of May 13, 1964.

³Separate high schools may be established in Saskatchewan, as of March 17, 1964.

units and boards have been added for Canadian totals. The dissimilarity between such units in the provinces makes direct comparison extremely difficult and somewhat impractical. Hence, greater clarity was sought by summarizing what has happened within the provinces and then drawing conclusions to show possible trends for Canada as a whole.

Much of the information which follows was gleaned from the annual reports of the departments of education of the provinces. Some of the more recent data were obtained directly by correspondence with the respective departments.

British Columbia

School district reorganization in British Columbia was initiated and implemented largely under the direction of the provincial government. Three experimental larger administrative units were created during the 1934-1942 period, the first of which was an attempt to alleviate certain conditions in the Peace River area resulting from the economic depression. The larger units were considered to have advantages from the standpoint of the pupil, the teacher, general administration and supervision, economics, efficiency, and tax expenditures (20:24).

In 1946 the provincial government accepted the recommendations of the Cameron Commission and eliminated all but a few isolated districts, about twelve in number, and introduced instead a system of large administrative units (20:33). The 650 districts existing in 1945,

of which some 380 (including about 100 not operating schools) had been under the management of official trustees, were reduced to 86 (23:14; 24:14). In 1965 there were 93 school districts, 75 municipal and 18 rural (25:17). Only five districts did not provide secondary education in 1965. Except for 11 of the smaller districts under official trustees, all school districts are governed by elected school boards (26).

In 1960 the Chant Commission recommended a review of the school district boundaries with the object of further consolidation of the smaller of the "large" administrative units in the interest of economy and efficiency (46:56). The amalgamation of a number of contiguous districts has been under consideration (26).

Alberta

Alberta was the first of the Canadian provinces to initiate and implement the larger rural unit of school administration on a province-wide basis. Earlier efforts to establish some forms of larger units, such as the consolidated school districts and the rural high school districts, met with limited success only. An influx of population in the Turner Valley area and the problems of the drought-stricken Berry Creek area forced the government to experiment with a larger administrative unit. During the mid-1930's the newly-elected Social Credit government, in rapid succession, planned and enacted new legislation, and organized and established school divisions. Within two or three

years more than eighty per cent of all school districts were included within the divisions (45:76; 12:74-76). The local district boards retained minor responsibilities, and, except for matters relating to language and religious instruction, were largely responsible to the division boards which directed the total elementary and secondary school program for all schools within the divisions. In due time many of the town and village districts within divisional territory elected to become part of the division system.

In 1942, about five years after the inauguration of school divisions, Gilles reported that:

Of all the Provinces, Alberta has moved the fastest and has gone the farthest in the matter of reorganizing its system of rural school administration. Today, there are in operation in Alberta fifty large administrative units, or school divisions, as they are commonly known. At the present time there are fewer than 100 rural school districts operating under boards of trustees (11:iii).

Gilles found that the burden of debt inherited from the school districts had been considerably reduced during three to five years of operation, and that, without accumulating new debt, substantial building programs had been carried forward, better salaries were paid to teachers, and school libraries and other facilities had been added (11:55). In 1951 Jonason concluded that:

. . . the two most important objectives namely the equalizing of educational opportunity for elementary school pupils throughout the province and the providing of better high school opportunities for rural pupils have been realized in exceedingly good measure (12:164);

and that,

Enlarging the base of taxation from a unit of approximately seventeen square miles to one of fifteen hundred square miles has made a more equitable distribution of educational costs possible and has placed school financing on a firmer base than was the case under local school control (12:166).

In 1950 Alberta pioneered legislation which permitted the formation of school counties (12:182). The elected county council, through its respective committees, governs both school and municipal affairs. The first two counties were established in 1951. Following the recommendations of the Coterminous Boundaries Commission in 1954, by and large the boundaries of divisions and municipalities were made coterminous. This facilitated reorganization so that by 1965 nearly half of the 59 original school divisions had been transformed into counties.

Of more than 4,000 original school districts within the province, about 150 remained as independent school districts by 1965, and nearly 100 of these were separate school districts established at the request of Catholic or Protestant minority groups (22:21).

Saskatchewan

In Saskatchewan, as in Alberta and in British Columbia, major school district reorganization came about as a result of decisive action on the part of the provincial government. The permissive legislation of 1940 apparently had little impact upon electors. The Larger Units Act passed in 1944, "thirty years after the need for reorganization of school administration was first expressed," empowered the Minister of

Education to establish rural larger school units (53:100). About eighty school districts were included in each unit. A later amendment authorized the inclusion of town school districts in school units. An amendment of 1945 provided electors the right to petition for a vote before the establishment of a school unit (53:101).

The Minister established fourteen school units during the first year following the operation of the Act, and by the end of another year 45 of 60 planned units were in operation (53:100). The last of the units was established January 1, 1966 (2:1) Though the Act provides for the disestablishment of school units, very few petitions were received, and in the five cases where a vote was held the units were maintained by a considerable majority (40). By 1965 about 125 of the more than 5,000 original school districts remained as independent school districts outside of school units, and about 45 of these were separate school districts (41:80).

The Saskatchewan school unit board assumed the responsibility for both elementary and secondary education, as did the Alberta division board. Minor duties, similar to those of the divisional district board in Alberta, were retained by the school district board within the larger unit (51). However, whereas in Alberta divisional district boards gradually were no longer organized in most of the original districts, an attempt has been made to maintain the unit district board in Saskatchewan (42). Such boards have in part served a liaison function between the unit board and the electorate.

Legislation passed in 1964 made possible the formation of separate high school districts (56). Further legislation enacted in 1965 provided for the establishment of a board of education to administer both the school district and the high school district wherever the boundaries are coterminous. A board of education can also be established to administer both the separate school district and the coterminous separate high school district (57). Proceedings for the establishment of such boards of education must be initiated by the boards of trustees of the respective districts to be involved in the administrative change. A few boards of education have been established since the legislative provisions were enacted.

Manitoba

School district reorganization in Manitoba is examined in detail in the succeeding chapters.

Ontario

Ontario has a variety of school administrative units. Traditionally, elementary and secondary schools have been under the direction of separate boards. However, boards of education, which govern systems that include both elementary and secondary programs, have been in existence for more than a century. In 1964 there were 53 such boards in the cities and larger towns. Also, as in Alberta and in Saskatchewan, Catholic and Protestant minority groups may request the establishment of separate schools, but for elementary education only. However, the

geographical limits of the separate school unit need not correspond with the boundaries of the public school section. There were more than 700 separate school boards and over 2,000 public elementary school boards in the province in 1964 (31:s.18).

The school section, the equivalent of the school district in the western provinces, became the basic administrative unit in Ontario during the time of Ryerson (47:206). The establishment of a larger rural school administrative unit, the township school area, has been permitted for a century, yet nearly all of 630 townships have been organized during the last twenty-five years. It was not until 1964 that legislation was passed providing that, effective January 1, 1965, the township become the general unit for the administration of rural public (that is, elementary) schools. Legislation was enacted the same year providing also for the formation of county school areas in the southern part of the province and of district school areas in the north on a permissive basis upon the recommendation of consultative committees (31:3).

Quebec

Perhaps the most drastic educational reorganization in Canada since World War II has been taking place in Quebec. A Royal Commission of Inquiry to study the organization and financing of education was established in 1961. Many of the Commission's recommendations have been implemented without delay. The duality of Quebec's educational system

has been reduced considerably. This has been brought about in part by the establishment of a Department of Education under the direction of a Minister (9:1).

"Operation 55" called for the regrouping of about 1,600 local school boards (of which more than 1,400 were Catholic and about 170 Protestant) into regional boards. These boards provide for high school or secondary education, whereas local school boards continue providing for elementary education. Operation 55 became a misnomer -- 64 regional boards, 55 Catholic and 9 Protestant, were organized before the end of 1965. Though Quebec's new legislation was permissive, the incentives were such that no school municipalities¹ have declined to become part of the new regions and from being represented on the regional boards.

A policy of decentralization at the provincial level and of centralization at the local level has been put into effect. Perras explained that:

The policy of the Department of Education through Operation 55, does reflect a clear-cut intention of strengthening the local administration in school municipalities. This, I suggest, is one of the most significant emerging patterns in Quebec's educational reforms (19:10-11).

Provincially decentralized administrative services have also been provided by setting up ten or more inter-regional bureaus in "centers of life, activity and influence for considerably extended territories" (36:199).

The Parent Commission recommendations with respect to the

¹A school municipality is part of the territory of the province erected into a municipality for the functioning of schools under the control of commissioners or trustees. It may contain one or more schools (38:446).

coordination of secondary education in the private and public sectors were implemented during 1966. Regional school boards are authorized to conclude agreements with private institutions which offer secondary education. Such private schools receive support from public funds (37:317).

New Brunswick

The first major move towards larger units of school administration in New Brunswick occurred in 1943 when the County Schools Finance Act was passed. The Act stipulated that if a majority of the school districts within a county voted in favor of the plan, the maintenance of rural schools was to be pooled and administered by the County School Finance Board (27:11). By 1946 fourteen of the province's fifteen counties had accepted the plan, which at the time involved about 1,300 local school districts. In addition, more than 40 regional composite high schools served the rural parts of the province by 1964 (28:248).

In June, 1966, the provincial legislature passed a new Schools Act whereby the government assumed complete financial responsibility for education. The Act permits the government to establish new school districts (6:5). Prior to the passing of the Act the premier announced that the intention of the government was to set up 34 school districts under the direction of appointed and elected school boards. The new plan, which displaces county school government, is to be implemented in 1967 (4:2).

Nova Scotia

In order to secure a broader base of financial support for its numerous small rural school sections, Nova Scotia passed permissive legislation in 1942 providing for the formation of municipal school units. A favorable vote of the majority of the ratepayers of the school sections was required. Within a few years all rural and village sections were contained in twenty-four municipal units. Boards of trustees for rural sections continued to exist as legal entities, but in practice their responsibilities were largely assumed by the municipal boards (30). The municipalities assumed financial responsibility for a "minimum program of education," and the "previous local school rates were replaced by a uniform school tax over the municipality" (47:7).

Since 1955 ownership of school lands, buildings, and capital equipment within the municipality has been vested in the Municipal Council, with the exception of a few sections which elected to retain ownership of the local school plant (55).

Bilateral or multilateral agreements among urban and municipal boards are permitted for the formation of regional school boards, which administer schools attended by pupils from both town and municipality, and for the formation of vocational school boards which administer vocational high schools serving several municipalities (30).

Prince Edward Island

Apparently the need for school district reorganization was

recognized in each of the provinces at least fifty years ago. Prince Edward Island is no exception in that the recommendations of earlier commissions were not implemented. Though permissive legislation was passed in 1949, only one larger unit of school administration was set up, and disbanded only seven years later (33:39).

Legislation passed in 1948 provided for the establishment of high school regions (32:22). By 1965 sixteen regional high school units were in operation, however not all rural districts had chosen to participate in the plan (35:36).

Though a Commissioner on Educational Finance and Related Problems in Administration in 1960 recommended the consolidation of local districts and the establishment of five large unit area school districts, no action appears to have been taken (43:99). Provincial supervisors have continued to draw attention to the need for larger units of administration (35:36). One larger unit for the administration of both elementary and secondary education was set up in 1963 (34:25).

Newfoundland

A denominational system of education had developed in Newfoundland long before it became a Canadian province in 1949. In 1965 the province comprised 287 education districts. A district is "the unit area of control and management for general elementary education . . . which is an area of convenient dimensions for administration for each organized religious denomination" (17:216). Ninety-five of the 287 districts were

Anglican, 41 Roman Catholic, and 18 Salvation Army. The whole province constitutes a district for the Presbyterian, Seventh Day Adventist, Pentacostal, and Congregational denominations. In addition, there are a number of amalgamated or inter-denominational districts (18:13).

Due to the fact that two or more denominations operate schools in one settlement, there has been duplication in at least 75 settlements, triplication in at least 25, and quadruplication in another two. Nevertheless, an optimistic note with respect to the trend in Newfoundland appeared in a departmental bulletin; it stated that "the one room school, once a very significant entity in Newfoundland, is fast disappearing" (29:3).

Secondary school services are being provided by about 95 regional and central high school centers.

In 1965 a Royal Commission on Education and Youth began an inquiry into all aspects of education in the province.

Summary of Trends in Canada

In 1939 Fletcher complained that:

. . . at every turn, new developments are stopped short by a small section system unable to provide either the financial or the administrative machinery that the new ideas need if they are to be turned into reality (10:xiii).

In thirty years the conditions which Fletcher observed have changed considerably in many of the provinces, and are undergoing a process of change in most provinces which have to this day maintained a small district system. In 1936 Cameron stated that "possibly Canadian provinces

have been regulating and controlling the wrong factors in the educational system" (1:10). He suggested that the externa rather than the interna of education should have been more under the control of central authorities. However, he felt that centralization was "not a reasonable political possibility in most provinces because of the long tradition of local management" (1:20). Nevertheless, prevailing traditions notwithstanding, not many years following Cameron's statement three western and two eastern provinces had implemented considerable centralized control over the externa, notably with respect to the organization of school administrative units.

The district reorganization trends which have been indicated for the United States, by and large have been similarly prevalent in the Canadian provinces. The brief abstracts in this chapter outlining major reorganization events in the provinces, along with the more detailed data given in the tables that follow, permit certain generalizations with respect to trends in Canada.

1. The number of school administrative units has been progressively decreasing.

Table I, page 43, illustrates that most progress with respect to decreasing the number of units with fiscal powers has been made in the three western provinces and in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Ontario and Manitoba have been enacting legislation since 1964 with a view to accomplishing similar ends. Though Table I includes urban administrative

TABLE I
NUMBER OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
UNDER SCHOOL BOARDS IN CANADA^a

Province	Period ^b	Change in Approximate Number ^c
British Columbia	1945 - 1965	650 - 93
Alberta	1936 - 1965	3,730 - 206
Saskatchewan	1941 - 1964	5,180 - 195
Manitoba	1958 - 1966	1,870 - 1,340 ^d
Ontario	1950 - 1964	4,190 - 3,270
Quebec	1959 - 1965	1,830 - 1,600
New Brunswick	1943 - 1965	1,350 - 74
Nova Scotia	1942 - 1965	1,800 - 66
Prince Edward Island	1960 - 1965	470 - 400
Newfoundland	1958 - 1965	310 - 290

^aSource: Annual Reports of Departments of Education. This table includes rural and urban units.

^bThe first year given is at or about the time when some event with respect to district reorganization was occurring.

^cAdministrative units with boards which have some or total responsibility with respect to school financing.

^dImplementation of single-district divisions (in parts of the province where electors voted in favor of the March 10, 1967, referendum) will reduce this number by about 650.

units, the reduction in the total number is due, perhaps entirely, to fewer rural units.

2. The establishment of consolidated school districts appears to have been a local expediency which did not gain national significance.

Table II, page 45, illustrates the trends in establishing consolidated school districts in Canada. Most consolidations have involved only two or three rural school districts. There appears to be no further pressing need for consolidations in Alberta and Saskatchewan, though some have been occurring outside of divisions in Alberta, and some within larger units in Saskatchewan. The movement has been most prevalent in Manitoba, and once more gained momentum following the introduction of school divisions. Districts within divisions have been consolidating, some ostensibly with a view to postponing the date when the division board conceivably would have control of elementary schools. New Brunswick has also witnessed considerable consolidation in more recent years. Nevertheless, the practicability of organizing the entire province into about thirty-four school districts, as proposed by the government, may have spelled the end of small district consolidations for that province.

3. The number of rural larger school administrative units has been progressively increasing.

According to Table III, page 46, the increase in the number of rural larger units has occurred in every province. For Prince Edward

TABLE II
DEVELOPMENT OF CONSOLIDATED SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN CANADA^a

Province	Year	Number of Consolidated Districts in Operation
Alberta	1913	1
	1936	60
	1965	7
Saskatchewan	1912	1
	1941	41
	1964	76
Manitoba	1905	2
	1958	100
	1966	200
Ontario	1945	28
	1950	17
New Brunswick	1940	6
	1965	160
Nova Scotia	1903	1
Prince Edward Island	1964	2

^aSource: Annual Reports of Departments of Education.

^bFor Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, the first date given indicates the year consolidations were first introduced; the second date is at or about the time when some event with respect to major reorganization was occurring; the third date is that for which the latest available data were obtained. For the other provinces such data as were available are indicated.

TABLE III
RURAL LARGER SCHOOL ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS IN CANADA^a

Province	Period ^b	Change in Approx. Number	Unit Name
British Columbia	1946 - 1965	67 - 75 ^c	Large School District
Alberta	1937 - 1966	11 - 59	School Division (33) County (26)
Saskatchewan	1944 - 1966	14 - 60	School Unit
Manitoba	1919 - 1966	1 - 12	Municipal Sch. District ^d
	1947 - 1966	1 - 1	School Area ^e
	1959 - 1966	31 - 36	School Division ^f
Ontario	1945 - 1965	397 - 634	Township Sch. Area ^g
	1945 - 1958	31 - 249 ^h	High Sch. District
Quebec	1964 - 1966	44 - 64	Region ⁱ
New Brunswick	1943 - 1965	3 - 14	County Unit
	1949 - 1964	17 - 41	Rural High Sch. District
Nova Scotia	1942 - 1965	2 - 24	Municipal Sch. Unit
Prince Edward Island	1958 - 1965	11 - 15	Regional High Sch. Unit
Newfoundland	1959 - 1965	20 - 95	Regional High Sch. Unit

^aSource: Annual Reports of Departments of Education.

^bThe first year given is at or about the time when some event with respect to district reorganization was occurring.

^cExclusively urban districts are not included, but many of these are largely urban in population, though not in geographical area.

^dOperate elementary schools only since 1959.

^eOperates elementary and secondary schools.

^fWith the exception of Frontier Division, all rural school divisions operate high schools only.

^gTownship School Areas operate elementary schools only.

^hHigh school districts which are exclusively urban are included, as these are not tabulated separately in the Annual Reports.

ⁱRegions operate secondary schools only.

Island and Newfoundland this may be true mainly insofar that regional high schools have been established.

4. In several provinces the rural larger administrative units have been operating both elementary and secondary schools.

The larger units in the three western provinces and in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia assumed financial responsibility for the total educational program. On the other hand, in Ontario major emphasis has been placed upon elementary schools with respect to the township school areas. In contrast, the objective of Manitoba's school division plan of 1958 was to provide more adequately for secondary education, as was also Quebec's "Operation 55" program of 1964.

5. School districts included in rural larger administrative units have been assigned a minor role.

Table IV, page 48, shows that a varying number of school districts are included within the larger units of the different provinces. Most Alberta divisions and Saskatchewan school units may be geographically larger in area than the average Manitoba division. On the other hand, not all Quebec school municipalities are as small as the prairie school district. The table illustrates that larger administrative units, much fewer in number, have been or are in the process of replacing large numbers of small school districts.

In British Columbia the original rural school districts ceased to exist as legal entities when reorganization took place in 1946. The

TABLE IV
ADMINISTRATIVE SUB-UNITS INCLUDED IN RURAL LARGER UNITS IN 1965^a

Province	Larger Unit		Administrative Sub-Unit		
	Name	Total No.	Name	Approximate Number Total	Average per Unit
Alta.	Division	33	Sch. District	4,050 ^b	70
	County	26			
Sask.	School Unit	60	Sch. District	4,950 ^c	80
Man.	School Area	1	Sch. District ^e	40 ^c	40
	Sch. Division	36	Sch. District ^e	1,290 ^d	35
Que.	Region	64	Sch. Municipality	1,500 ^d	25
N.B.	County Unit	14	Sch. District	380 ^c	27
N.S.	Municipal Sch. Unit	24	Sch. Section	950 ^c	40
P.E.I.	Regional High Sch. Unit	15	Sch. District	375 ^d	25

^aSource: Annual Reports of Departments of Education for 1965; School Acts of the Provinces.

^bFor all practical purposes, many of these have ceased to exist as electors have failed to elect school boards.

^cThese districts bear little or no financial responsibility; school boards have minor "care-taking" duties.

^dThese districts are completely independent and exercise fiscal powers, but operate elementary schools only.

^eIncludes all consolidated school districts.

(Note: In British Columbia and Ontario the basic administrative units which are incorporated into the larger units no longer continue as sub-unit identities under school boards.)

implementation of legislation enacted in 1966 will have the same result in Manitoba and New Brunswick. In the latter province, as in Nova Scotia, district and section school boards retained minor duties as fiscal powers had been transferred to the respective County School Finance Boards and Municipal School Boards. Manitoba rural school districts retained complete fiscal autonomy with respect to elementary education, relinquishing only provisions for secondary education wherever such had been made, when the division plan was introduced in 1959. However, the school districts within the one school area, even as the districts within the Saskatchewan school unit and within the Alberta school division, lost their fiscal powers. The Manitoba school area district has had higher status than its provincial counterparts in that its school could not be closed or removed without the district's consent. Even the identity of an Alberta divisional district appears to disappear when such a district fails to maintain a school board.

However, the Alberta divisional district, as also the Saskatchewan unit district, serves as a legal entity for the establishment of a separate school district.

In Manitoba local school district boards played no official part in the establishment of school divisions, though a majority vote of the electors in the constituent districts was required. In contrast, the school trustees and commissioners of school municipalities in Quebec were actively engaged in the establishment of regional boards. Not only does the school municipality retain responsibility for elementary schools,

but, unlike the Manitoba divisional district, it is more or less directly involved in the financial affairs of the region.

6. The number of school administrative units that are geographically coterminous with municipal units has been increasing.

The township school area of Ontario and the school municipality of Quebec have been some of the earlier rural school administrative units which are coterminous with the respective municipal units of administration. Also the county unit of New Brunswick and the municipal school unit of Nova Scotia are coterminous with their municipal counterparts. Many of British Columbia's school districts are coterminous with the outer boundaries of one or more rural municipal districts. In Alberta the county has been established on the basis of coterminous school and municipal units. Moreover, many of Alberta's school divisions are more or less coterminous with municipalities. In Saskatchewan and Manitoba little or no relationship is apparent between the boundaries of school units and school divisions and those of municipalities. In cognizance of this lack of correlation, commissions in both provinces have recommended a revision of boundaries (44:30; 53:360).

It appears that the trend to organize larger and coterminous administrative districts is associated with the establishment of multi-community units; this association has been apparent in the United States also.

7. Most large-scale school district reorganization seems to have been associated with mandatory legislation.

The procedures which have been followed in implementing reorganization plans in the provinces are generalized in Table V, page 52. In most provinces permissive legislation has been passed. Wherever considerable financial advantages accrued to the taxpayers of smaller districts, moves were made to take advantage of the provisions of such legislation. Such was the case in the adoption of the county finance unit in New Brunswick, of the municipal unit in Nova Scotia, and of the region in Quebec. On the other hand, earlier legislation permitting the establishment of larger rural units in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, was followed by little or no action on the part of the electorate. In contrast, mandatory legislation with respect to large-scale reorganization in the three most western provinces permitted the implementation of a comprehensive province-wide plan, no part of which could be frustrated by local hesitation. In Manitoba the introduction of school divisions, though not imposed, was aided by a mandatory province-wide referendum. Such a referendum has also been required with respect to the single-district division plan. Concurrently, Ontario and New Brunswick have been pressing forward in rural district reorganization without providing the local electorate with a vote on the issue.

8. Over the years the number of one-teacher schools has been decreasing.

It appears that most or all provinces have made some commitment to

TABLE V
DIFFERENCES IN PROCEDURES FOR IMPLEMENTING
DISTRICT REORGANIZATION IN CANADA^a

Province	Date of Reorganization Plan or Proposal	Larger Unit	Procedure for Implementation
B.C.	1946	Large Sch. District	Mandatory & province-wide
Alta.	1936	Sch. Division	Mandatory - Minister's decision
	1950	County	Permissive - upon application of Division Board or Municipal Council
Sask.	1944	School Unit	Mandatory - Minister's decision
Man.	1911	Municipal Sch. District	Local petition followed by majority vote
	1945	School Area	Local petition followed by majority vote
	1958	School Division	Mandatory local referendum
	1966	Single-District Sch. Division	Mandatory local referendum
Ont.	1964	Township Sch. Area	Mandatory
	1965	County Sch. Area	Proposal to be initiated by local consultative committee
Que.	1964	Region	Upon application of local school boards ^b
N.B.	1943	County Unit	Majority vote of unit districts ^c
	1966	Larger Sch. District	Mandatory & province-wide
N.S.	1942	Municipal Sch. Unit	Majority vote of local ratepayers
P.E.I.	1949	Larger Unit	Majority vote of local ratepayers

^aSource: Commission Reports and Annual Reports of Departments of Education.

^bThe legislation with respect to the formation of Regional School Boards makes it mandatory for local school boards to provide an equivalent quality of high school education if they choose not to enter the Regional Plan. Apparently none chose to opt out.

^cAs a county council was not obligated to form a County School Finance Board (S.N.B. 1943, c.34), the latter was not established for one county, that of Restigouche.

reduce the number of one-room schools to that which is necessary in serving isolated places. Table VI, page 54, shows the change which has occurred over a period of years. In terms of comparative total populations, least progress in eliminating the one-room school as a rural phenomenon has been made by Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, and Newfoundland, and in that order.

9. No consistent pattern has been followed with respect to non-operating and low enrolment districts.

British Columbia no longer has non-operating districts. Though such districts have not been dissolved in Alberta and Saskatchewan, as constituents within larger units they are integral parts of the operating school systems. Though over the years Manitoba had taken no decisive action with respect to such districts, they became part of school divisions for high school purposes. In the eastern provinces non-operating school districts do not seem to have been a significant issue, though indeed, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland have to cope with the problem of low-enrolment schools.

10. Public school systems might be inclined to give a measure of support to private institutions.

Though no trend with respect to public support of private schools has yet been established, it may be of interest to note that in Manitoba and Quebec legislation has been passed in 1965 and 1966 respectively permitting public school districts to enter into agreements with private

TABLE VI
NUMBER OF RURAL ONE-TEACHER SCHOOLS IN CANADA^a

Province	Period ^b	Change in Approximate Number
British Columbia	1946 - 1965	435 - 120
Alberta	1936 - 1965	2,962 - 107
Saskatchewan	1944 - 1965	3,884 - 480
Manitoba	1958 - 1965	1,410 - 825
Ontario	1950 - 1965	4,659 - 1,937
Quebec ^c	1930 - 1965	500 - 31
New Brunswick	1942 - 1965	1,317 - 123
Nova Scotia	1942 - 1965	1,370 - 293
Prince Edward Island	1948 - 1965	382 - 295
Newfoundland	1948 - 1965	660 - 349

^aSource: Annual Reports of Departments of Education and the D.B.S. Biennial Survey of Education.

^bWith the exception of Quebec and Newfoundland, the first year given is at or about the time when some event with respect to district reorganization was occurring.

^cFor Protestant Schools only.

schools with respect to certain services. In Quebec direct financial aid has been made available to qualifying private schools (37:316).

IV. CONCLUSION

In this chapter the trends in school district reorganization in the United States and in Canada have been reviewed. In most states and in most provinces the number of school administrative units has decreased considerably over the years. There is a general trend not only to make administrative units larger, but also to provide both elementary and secondary education within the same units. The introduction of larger administrative units is generally followed by centralization of school facilities, and hence by a reduction in the number of small schools. The one-room school of pioneer days appears to be on the way out everywhere, except where it is required in isolated areas. Another trend appears to be an attempt on the part of more provinces to introduce school administrative and municipal units which are coterminous. Though traditionally reorganization of school districts in Canada has been largely a local prerogative, several provinces have demonstrated rather effectively that province-wide reorganization can be expedited efficiently and satisfactorily by implementing semi-permissive or mandatory legislation. This aspect of reorganization is examined in some detail in Chapter V.

Only limited references have been made to Manitoba in this

chapter. The historical setting and the development of the province's school district system are described in the next two chapters.

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CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL SETTING OF MANITOBA'S SCHOOL SYSTEM

I. INTRODUCTION

In Chapter II the trends of school district reorganization in the United States, and more particularly in the Canadian provinces, were examined. In this chapter the early development of Manitoba's school system will be discussed in some detail. Some observations are made at the outset about the province in general. The development of school district organization in Manitoba is not simply the result, or the concomitant, of provincial school legislation or of certain conditions that pertain to localities. To assess the legislation only in terms of what developed, would not be adequate. The impact of history upon the fabric of the province's educational structure appears to be relatively strong, and therefore requires consideration.

II. THE PROVINCE

Geography

Manitoba's area, as it was defined by the boundaries of 1876, was less than one-twentieth of its present area. In 1881 its boundaries were extended to their present width, and northward almost to the fifty-third parallel. The present boundaries were finally established in 1912.

Though Manitoba is located between latitudes 49 and 60 degrees north, more than 90 per cent of the people are found in the area which

lies south-west of a line running from the Pas to southeast Manitoba (15:23). The Pas is just south of latitude 54 degrees, about 330 miles north of the American boundary, and at the southern base of the triangle the province is only 278 miles wide. The relief characteristics of this portion of the province vary from very flat to undulating and rolling, and to hilly in a few restricted areas. The vegetation varies from open grasslands to lightly treed areas. Depending on the nature of the topography and soil conditions, farming varies from straight grain farming to mixed farming and cattle raising. Only 28,000 of Manitoba's 251,000 square miles is occupied agricultural land (15:80). This small portion of Manitoba consequently is well populated, as is indicated by Figure 1, page 63. A fairly good network of roads intersect the populated part of the province. Geographical and topographical features, therefore, do not raise any major problems with respect to the consolidation of school districts and the centralization of schools.

The People

Natives. About 22,000 Indians live on reserves scattered throughout the province, but mostly on sub-agricultural or non-agricultural lands. Their education is under the direction of the Federal Indian Affairs Branch. About 150 Eskimos are found at Churchill; these, however, are not "native" to the province, but have been settled there by the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources. About 25,000 persons are identified as Metis. They resemble the Indian in physical

characteristics and are characterized by poor living standards. About twenty-five per cent are permanently employed in jobs linked with industrial and commercial undertakings, and the remainder obtain seasonal employment (15:34). As the concern for the education of Indians is not that of public school boards, no further reference will be made to them. The Metis have been absorbed into the general structure of society, though mainly into the lower economic strata. There shall be no need to make further specific reference to them.

Early Settlers. The beginning of agricultural settlement in the Red River Valley is traced to the Selkirk Settlers of 1812. By 1818 colonists from Lower Canada arrived. The same year a mission church was established in what is now St. Boniface. The Metis, sons of French and Scottish fur-trader fathers, lived along the Red River to the south of Winnipeg. Former members of European regiments, including small numbers of Swiss, Poles, Irish and Germans arrived. The early immigrants settled along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and braved floods, saw the end of the buffalo and the fur-trade, and survived the Red River insurrection. Immigrants claimed what they occupied, in squatters' settlement fashion (10:46-115).

Later Immigrants. By 1873 all of Manitoba was divided into the square survey of townships six miles square, and sections of one mile square with road allowances between all sections. About this time Ontario farmers settled on 160-acre homesteads, not far from the river-fronts, but as the Scottish and French before them, in homogeneous groups. Blocks of

land had been reserved for the Metis, and were also being reserved for European groups. The first to settle on the open prairie away from rivers and woods were the Mennonites. These soil-tillers from Russia settled on reserved areas east and west of the Red River, in 1874 and 1876 respectively. The Icelanders came in 1875 and settled along Manitoba's lakeshores. Thereafter came a flood of immigrants -- Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Poles, more British stock from Ontario and also from Britain, and a trickle of French from Quebec and the eastern United States. Each group seemed to seek out land similar to that from which they came, or were forced to settle in the yet unoccupied lands. The Poles and Ukrainians, having come somewhat later, settled along the bushland fringe from the south-eastern part of the province to the Riding and Duck Mountains.

Ethnic Composition. In his history of Manitoba, Morton remarks: "Icelander and Mennonite ended the duality of the ethnic composition of Manitoba" (10:163). From the very beginning the stage was set for the location of immigrant groups in homogeneous settlements. The French settled along the Red River and the Seine, and along the Assiniboine up to Portage. A few scattered concentrations are found about the centers of Notre Dame, St. Laurent, St. Lazare and Ste. Rose du Lac. Today the French are found mainly in the municipalities of De Salaberry, La Broquerie, Richot, Ste. Anne, Tache, Montcalm, Lorne, Cartier, Gray, St. Laurent, Ellice, and Ste. Rose (12:38). Ontario Canadians occupied areas generally east and west of Winnipeg, and most of the farming land

in the south-western part of the province. The Icelanders settled in the proximity of the western shore of Lake Winnipeg. The Mennonites occupied a reserved area east of the Red River (Hanover) and the open prairie to the west (Rhineland). Today they are found mainly in the municipalities of Hanover, Morris, Rhineland and Stanley. The Ukrainians concentrated north of Dauphin, south of Riding Mountain, between Lake Winnipeg and Lake Manitoba, and east of the Red River in the southern part of the province. They are found mainly in the municipalities of Ethelbert, Gilbert Plains, Harrison, Mossey River, Rossburn, Silver Creek, Shoal Lake, and in the local government districts of Armstrong, Fisher and Stuartburn (12:39). The segregation of Ukrainians resulted as much from accident as from the practice of nativism. The bulk of the migration occurred after most of the prime agricultural lands had been settled. They therefore settled in the restricted areas of available agricultural land (12:39). The authors of a recent study on the people of Manitoba made the following comment:

The major minority ethnic groups in Manitoba, the French and the Mennonites, appear to have persisted on the basis of shared language, shared religion, the practice of nativism, and segregated settlement (12:38).

Manitoba's population increased from about 25,000 in 1871 to 922,000 in 1961. The rural areas most densely populated are those of the French and the Mennonite. In these settlements farms were divided among members of the family. The British group emigrated rather than carry out a sub-division of farms (15:32). The consequence of this has been variation

in school district organization patterns. Likewise, the settlement in ethnic blocks within the province has had an effect on the development of school district organization. This is indicated elsewhere in the thesis. Figure 2, page 68, illustrates Manitoba's ethnic settlement pattern.

Table VII, page 69, and Table VIII, page 70, show the distribution of the Manitoba population at the time of the 1961 census. Though only 43 per cent of the population is designated as of British origin, about 63 per cent gave English as their mother tongue. This may be a criterion of the extent to which assimilation into the Canadian or Manitoba "culture" has taken place. The French, German and Ukrainian groups have maintained their language and have been more active in the maintenance of their particular cultural heritage, than have the other numerically significant ethnic¹ groups of the province. The Mennonites of Manitoba have by and large maintained their Plattdeutsch dialect and the majority still have all or part of their church services in German (though there appears to be a rapid change to the English, particularly in the city churches). Mennonite origin is German or Dutch, and Mennonites offer this information indiscriminately to census takers -- they are uncertain what they should indicate, and do not necessarily give the same reply each time (some do originate in the Netherlands and

¹As Manitobans of Anglo-Saxon origin comprise almost half of the total population, it is convenient generally to refer to all other groups only as ethnic.

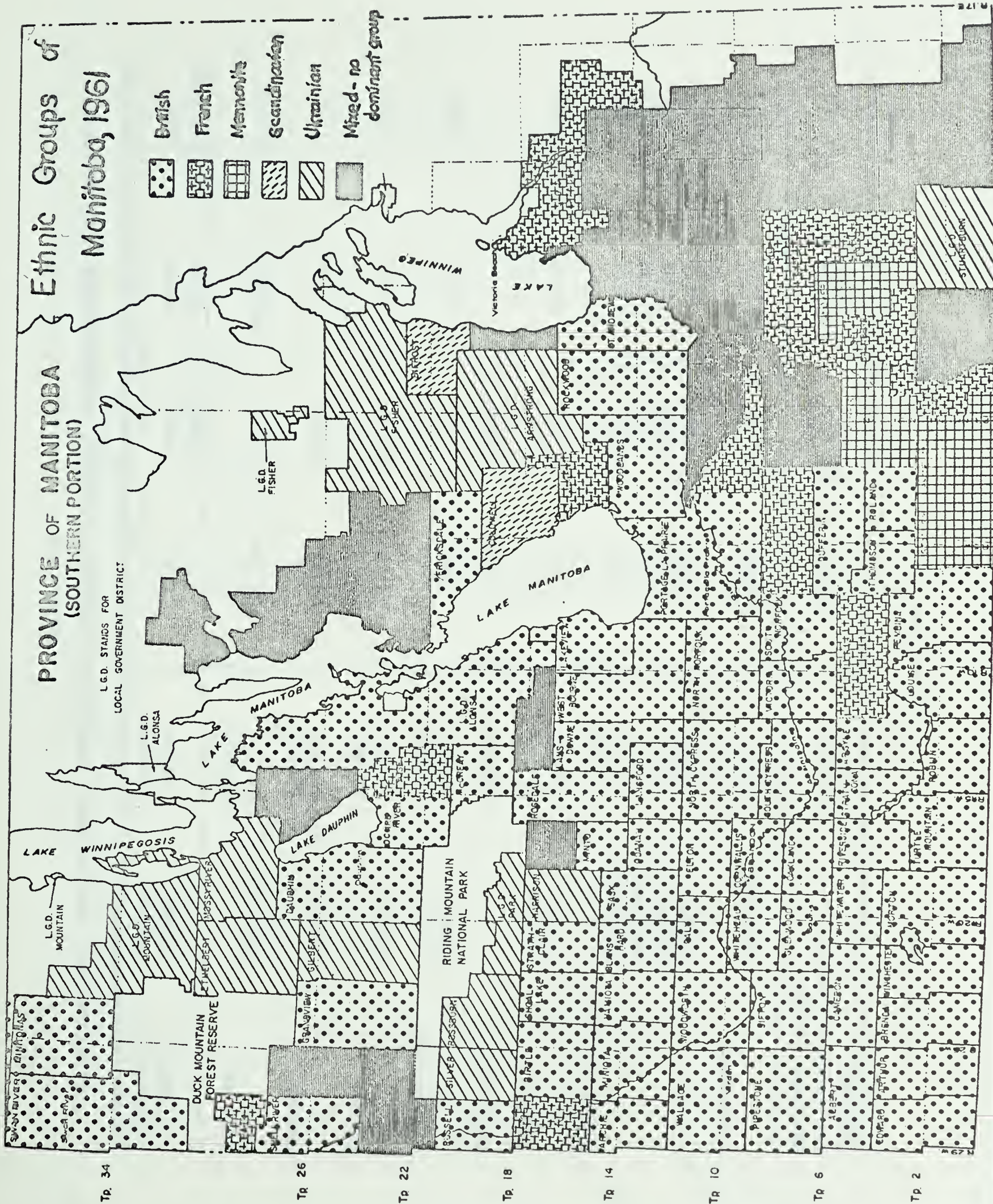


FIGURE 2
DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN MANITOBA
(FROM THE PEOPLE OF MANITOBA, 1951-61)

TABLE VII
DISTRIBUTION OF THE MANITOBA POPULATION ACCORDING TO ORIGIN, MOTHER TONGUE, AND LOCATION^a

Ethnic Origin	Mother Tongue	Manitoba Totals	Location		
			Urban	Rural Total	Rural Farm Non-Farm
British	English	396,445 584,526	408,958	175,568	87,807 87,761
French	French	83,936 60,899	29,841	31,058	13,896 17,162
German	German	91,846 83,994	45,537	38,457	28,240 10,217
Netherlands	Dutch	47,537 13,363	7,362	6,001	4,333 1,668
Mennonite ^b		56,823	11,823 ^c	45,000 ^c	- - -
Polish	Polish	44,371 20,652	14,257	6,395	4,302 2,093
Scandinavians	Icelandic Norwegian Swedish Danish	37,746 5,793 1,935 3,037 1,866	2,664 1,196 1,755 1,302	3,129 739 1,282 564	1,661 360 626 277 1,468 379 656 287
Ukrainian	Ukrainian	105,372 85,173	46,824	38,349	26,123 12,226
Manitoba Totals Including all Other Origins		921,686	588,807	332,879	171,472 161,407

^aCensus 1961 (2)

^bCensus 1961 (3)

^cEstimate

TABLE VIII

PER CENT AND RANK DISTRIBUTION OF THE MANITOBA POPULATION ACCORDING TO ORIGIN, MOTHER TONGUE, AND LOCATION^a

Ethnic Origin	Mother Tongue	Manitoba Total		Location					
		% of Man. Pop.	Rank	Urban		Rural Total		Rural Farm	
				% of Ethnic Group	Rank	% of Ethnic Group	Rank	% of Rural Group	Rank
British	English	43.0	1	70.0	1.5	30.0	5.5	50.9	5
French	French	9.1	4	49.3	6	50.7	1	44.6	6
German	German	10.0	3	54.3	5	45.7	2	73.5	1
Netherlands	Dutch	5.2	5	55.3	3	44.7	4	72.0	2
Mennonite ^b		(6.2)	(5)	(25.0)	(7)	(75.0)	(1)	-----	-
Polish	Polish	4.8	6	70.0	1.5	30.0	5.5	67.5	3
Scandinavians		4.1	7	-----	----	-----	----	-----	-
Ukrainian	Ukrainian	11.4	2	54.6	4	45.4	3	63.0	4
Manitoba Totals									
Including all Other Origins		100.0	- -	63.5	-	36.5	-	51.0	-

^aCalculations based on Table VII.^bCensus 1961 (3). Urban and rural breakdown is an approximate estimate based upon Census 1961 sources.

others in Germany, and most of these came to Canada following several generations of sojourn in the Ukraine).

As nearly two-thirds of the Manitoba population is urban, it is to be expected that the majority of most ethnic groups would also be living in urban centers. Of all the groups, Mennonites are rural people in greater proportion; perhaps about 75 per cent are non-urban. The 1961 census established 56,823 Mennonites by religious affiliation. This is 6.2 per cent of the Manitoba population, and makes up part of the 10.0 per cent of the German segment and 5.2 per cent of the population which is Dutch according to census statistics.

In rank order, according to ethnic origin, the major groups in Manitoba are: British, Ukrainian, German, French, Dutch, Polish and Scandinavian. The rank order according to given mother tongue varies insignificantly. If the Mennonite group, truly ethnic and not an organic part of either the German or Dutch groups, is removed from their numbers (where they are included by census), likely the French would form the third largest ethnic group, rather than the German, and the Mennonites would form the fifth largest ethnic group, not substantially less significant in number than the Ukrainian, the French and the German. The minority ethnic groups in Manitoba are large enough -- and due to ethnic settlement patterns, also powerful enough -- to exercise substantial influence upon the development of the pattern of school government in the province. School Division boundaries were carefully drawn in 1958 with due consideration of the ethnic wish.

Table VIII, page 70, indicates that a greater proportion of the population whose mother tongue is either English or Polish are found in urban centers. A smaller proportion of the rural population whose mother tongue is English or French are resident on farms. The relationship of these facts to rural school district reorganization is discussed in Chapter VI.

Government

Provincial. Manitoba was created by an act of Parliament on May 12, 1870, and proclaimed on July 15. Morton states that:

Provisions for the official use of the French language and a guarantee of the existence of the educational rights held by the various denominations "by law or practice at the union" perpetuated in the constitution of the new province the old duality of Red River and the balance of English and French nationality on which Confederation rested (10:141).

Twenty-four electoral districts, twelve French and twelve English were formed from the parishes along the rivers and outlying settlements. A redistribution measure, partly on the principle of representation by population was carried through in 1878 (4:34). By 1876 the Legislative Council was abolished and in 1890 English only was used in the records and journals of the Assembly, even though the latter was contrary to the provisions of the Manitoba Act (4:34). Morton stated that the election of 1888 "marked the triumph of Ontario over Quebec in Manitoba," and that:

the old order, whether the dual system in language and schools with all it meant to the French, or the influence the old settlers had exercised through their communal constituencies and their own

representatives now existed only at the discretion of the new majority, largely Ontario-bred and Protestant by creed (10:232).

Manitoba is now divided into 57 electoral divisions. It has three major political parties, each of which has supporters in all major ethnic groups. Most major ethnic groups are also represented in the legislature by members of each of the parties. In its deliberations the government is inclined to respect the wishes of ethnic groups. The legislation respecting the establishment of school divisions is an example of this.

Municipal. In 1871 parishes were registered as units of local administration. Municipal institutions were first introduced by Ontario settlers, and the first Municipal Act was passed in 1873. The Act was permissive in nature, and only six areas petitioned to be organized. In 1881 the province was divided into 26 areas in an attempt to create a municipal system, and the inhabitants of each were required to choose a council and to accept certain responsibilities. An experiment with the Ontario county system in 1883 was not successful. Donnelly stated that:

the pattern of municipal organization established in 1886, is in principle, the one prevailing at present . . . (4:137).

Urban populations of 500 are required for the establishment of a village, 1,500 for a town, and 10,000 for a city.

In 1965 there were in Manitoba the following numbers and kinds of municipal governments: 105 rural; 41 village; 35 town; 6 suburban; and 9 city, excluding Flin Flon, Thompson, and other company towns (21).

The Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg comprised 19 municipalities, which are included in the foregoing count. There were also an additional 17 Local Government Districts in areas where the establishment of municipalities was not warranted. The Michener Commission has recommended a drastic reduction in the number of municipal units (19:58).

Education. In Manitoba all school units are independent of municipal control. School district boards require municipal councils to raise the taxes according to their submitted budgets. Not all school districts have elected boards. Some are under the direction of official trustees. Detail with respect to school district government is given in Chapter IV.

Socio-Economic and Political Changes

Socio-economic. The major change in Manitoban rural life is vividly described by Morton as he writes of changes just prior to World War II:

The new range and wider neighborhood of rural life meant that the old ways were dropped one by one. The farmer became less a craftsman, proud of his competence with axe and plough, and more a mechanic and a manager. The picnics became fewer, the box socials old fashioned; the sports more organized; the fairs more commercialized. The moving picture theatre had been added to the prominent buildings of the town; the radio was in more and more homes. The barn dance had given way, with its local fiddler, to the dance in town with a hired band to furnish the music.

With the decline of the old ways a new restlessness had spread. Rural life had indeed always been restless, for no rule of inheritance in the family obtained. The usual practice among those of British descent was for the children, both sons and daughters, to inherit equally. The result was that no one was bound to the family farm by the hope of succession. Accordingly, unless the matter were

arranged beforehand, all the children were impelled, consciously or unconsciously, to strike out on their own. Down to the decade of the twenties the sons tended to seek new land further West, the daughters to teach school. They left home but not the land. From the war on, however, the restlessness had a new quality and the migration from the farm a new direction. The restlessness was increased by the spread of urban tastes, by the movies, the radio, the press, the mail-order catalogue in the country. And it was to the city that the children were going. The agricultural depression naturally weakened the hold of the land, the increase of industry created jobs to be filled not merely by urban natural increase and immigration, but by a migration from the farm to the cities. Manitoba was conforming to a trend which had been strengthening in North America since the 1870's. This depopulation of the countryside was a bitter loss, publicly lamented by farm leaders, a loss at once sentimental and economic. The farm now had to compete with the city for both the affection and the labour of its children. It was, however, a loss which could not be checked until the farm offered its young people opportunities of a good life comparable with those, real or fancied, offered by the city; until, in short, the steady remaking of the old rural life in the ways and to the standards of the city had been accomplished. When urban ways prevailed, and not before, the farm would know peace and the drain of population be slowed (10:412-413).

Since World War II the pace of change has increased. Roads have been improved and few rural people suffer any handicap in driving to an urban center of some size. Even though farms have been served with electric power and many farm homes have the conveniences of urban homes, and though roads are good, an increasing number of farmers tend to move into a village or town home and commute to their farms.

In twenty years (1941 - 1961) the Manitoba farm population dropped from about 250,000 to 171,000. In other words, whereas in 1941 somewhat more than one-third of all Manitobans lived on farms, less than one-fifth did so twenty years later. During the same time the farm labor force dropped from about 92,000 to 59,000. The capital investment

per farm rose from \$5,800 to \$26,600 (13:69). In 1965 agriculture accounted for only 24 per cent of the total net value of commodity production in Manitoba, manufacturing 46 per cent and construction 25 per cent (17:104). These facts have implications for both rural and urban education and for the kind of school unit organization which can best meet the demands of new requirements placed upon the school system. When the province was founded, 95 per cent of the people were classified as rural. By 1951 the proportion had dropped to 50 per cent, and ten years later to 36 per cent.

For one decade alone, from 1951 to 1961, the following facts were recorded: 1) the number of farms decreased by 17.3 per cent; 2) the size of farms increased by 24.0 per cent; 3) the rural non-farm population increased by 48.4 per cent; 4) the rural farm population decreased by 21.0 per cent; and, 5) the farm labor force decreased by 19.5 per cent (13:68-69). During the same period the number of farms reporting the use of electricity increased by 90.2 per cent. Though such a convenience made living on a farm more attractive, accompanying labor-saving equipment decreased the amount of human labor required to operate the farm.

With the exception of small isolated areas given to intensive farming (special crops) most of the farmed area consists of grain farming and dairying or a combination of crop and livestock emphasis. In 1961 one in four of the farm operators had done some work off the home farm, and one in seven had done 97 or more days off-farm work (12:45).

Manitoba has a diversified economy. In the manufacturing sector, Manitoba is represented in 136 out of the 184 industries recognized in Canada (16:8). There is a trend for a number of towns in rural Manitoba to attract or develop non-agricultural industry, or an industry for the processing of farm products. Industries locating in rural Manitoba include canning, feed processing, vegetable oil processing, manufacturing clothing apparel, printing, pulp and paper manufacturing, and mill work. The retail trade of some towns successfully competes for city customers. In 1960 Weir indicated that:

Even though the current shift of people to the larger communities may continue for some time resulting in a further decrease in the size of small centres, there appears to be little danger that the hamlets and villages will disappear completely in the way that places that depend upon local resources become ghost settlements once the resources are gone. Farmers will always require neighborhood centres for the easy shipping and processing of produce, and for day to day shopping needs. This is clearly revealed in some of the farming districts southeast of Winnipeg where new hamlets have appeared in recent years to provide services required by farmers. Hence it appears that though there may be considerable changes in population among the urban centres of Manitoba, the general pattern of central places will remain fairly stable, with large towns as the anchor points of the service centre network in the province. Any outstanding growth in a place will be the result of new industries (15:30).

A definite trend of rural to urban migration is apparent. This has implications for educational policy. Many rural children will spend their productive tax-paying years in areas other than those in which they are reared. Currently the fertility of the farm population results in "a substantial surplus of replacements even under conditions of stable farm labor requirements" (12:53). Declining manpower require-

ments will decrease the opportunity of farm youth to find employment in agriculture.

The assurance given by Weir, that small urban centers will not disappear, would allow the inference that such natural trading centers may be logical nuclei for centralized rural schools and practical reference points for the consolidation of attendance areas in any proposed school district reorganization plan.

Political. The Manitoba of 1870 was a financial ward of the federal government (4:13). Donnelly claims that there were no political parties worth the name before 1900 (4:46). It appears that the concern of early political movements in Manitoba was that of establishing the fact of provincial autonomy as well as that of developing the province (1:81). The great issues in relation to the federal government were those of boundaries, the disallowance of railway charters, natural resources, and separate schools (4:45). Clague claimed that:

. . . in the school question of 1890-96 the electorate of Manitoba had found an effective means of voicing its protest against the rough treatment which the young Province had received at the hands of the Dominion Government during the preceding decade (1:156).

A vigorous policy of immigration was pursued. The British majority was concerned that the province should become a "British and Canadian" province, and not a western "Quebec" (39:18). Political fighting resulted in a multi-lingual province, at least as far as its educational system was concerned (39:53). This was determined also, in no small measure, by the continuance or perpetuation of the pattern already

established by the early homogeneous settlements of the French and the Scottish and the setting aside of reservations for other groups such as the Metis. The bilingual (or multi-lingual) school problem was not resolved until 1916 when legislation was passed requiring English as the language of instruction in all public schools.

Manitoba's political concerns were largely rural-oriented until after World War II. For decades parties struggled with problems arising out of the province's wheat economy (4:47). From 1940 until 1950 a coalition government managed the affairs of the province. Several emergencies, such as the depression, the war, wheat-market problems, and post-war reconstruction were the cause of the non-partisan arrangement (4:65). Little new legislation was passed during the first five years of the decade.

Donnelly expressed criticism of the coalition government, and of the Liberal-Progressives which held office from 1950 to 1958. He referred to this period as one of "compromise and inaction" (4:103). He pointed out that "educational policy in the ten years from 1945 to 1955 illustrated both the overemphasis on economy and the effect of the absence of party struggle and competition" (4:106). The Royal Commission reported in 1959 that Manitoba had been consistently spending less per capita on education than any other province except Prince Edward Island, in spite of a financial capacity which compared favorably with that of most provinces (18:16).

Donnelly claimed that "The question of a larger school unit for

secondary education is a good example of the failure of the non-partisan system and its 'philosophy' of democratic government" (4:106). Though in 1945 a committee of the legislature accepted the principle of a larger unit of school administration, only one larger unit was established. The demand was to come from the "grass roots." The Conservative party campaigned for the establishment of larger school administrative units throughout the province, and offered financial support for the setting up of such units. Of 36 districts voting on the referendum in 1959, only three rejected the plan (4:107). However, the government had yet to provide evidence of being able to effect the reorganization of rural districts offering elementary education. Permissive legislation so far had not produced results.

Summary and Discussion

Since its establishment in 1870 Manitoba has grown geographically through the extension of its original boundaries. A province that was originally composed of an equal number of British and French settlers, has become the home of many additional ethnic groups which today comprise about half its population. From a bilingual setting, it passed through a multilingual stage, and essentially has become a one-language province. Nevertheless, the pattern of ethnic settlement still serves to maintain the local use of the languages and customs of the original immigrants. An economy that was rural and agricultural is becoming more and more urban and industrial. Though earlier governments seemed to have been

over-cautious in their shift from an emphasis on a rigid economy to one on development and economic growth, the incumbent government seems to have realized that a new or different socio-economic context has in fact evolved and that a more aggressive approach must be taken to the problems of the day. One of the issues with which the government of Manitoba has been grappling is the multiplicity of local governments, municipal and school -- a development which served pioneer conditions, but which has not adequately met current problems. The method by which the government attempts to solve this problem will affect not only school district reorganization but also the kind of educational opportunities available in rural Manitoba. The solution to the problem is complicated in part by the concerns harbored by the French and certain other ethnic groups, particularly wherever these are found in homogeneous settlements.

III. EARLY SCHOOLS

Prior to 1870

Prior to 1870 elementary education in Manitoba (or Assiniboia, as it was called) was provided for the settlers by church-supported schools. Secondary education was provided by both church and private enterprise. The first Roman Catholic mission school was established in St. Boniface in 1818, and the first Anglican school was opened by John West in 1820. These were soon followed by schools operated by Presbyterian and Methodist denominations (10:71). The Hudson's Bay Company

voluntarily gave considerable support in the form of hospitality to missionaries, free transportation, books, land, buildings, and money. Harvey concluded that "although not legally bound to do anything for education . . . the many and continuous forms of support provided by the Company go far beyond what sound business might dictate" (5:102). On the other hand, the government of the day, the Council of Assiniboia, seems to have played an insignificant part in education and did not support the schools of the Red River country (11:54). Moore pointed out that "There is neither statute law nor common law of local vintage concerning education prior to 1870" (9:19).

First School Districts

In 1871 twenty-four school districts, comprising the then existing parishes, were formed. The School Act of that year recognized formally the existing operational pattern and the twenty-four electoral divisions were declared also school districts:

15. The following Districts, comprising mainly a Protestant population, shall be considered Protestant School Districts: Nos. 2,3,4, 8,10,18,19,20,21,22,23,24.

16. The following Districts, comprising mainly a Catholic population shall be considered Catholic School Districts: Nos. 1,5,6,7, 9,11,12,13,14,15,16,17 (25).

The equal division of the French and English speaking population is illustrated by the equal number of Catholic and Protestant school districts.

IV. PERTINENT SCHOOL LEGISLATION

The School Act, 1871

An Act to establish a system of Education was assented to May 3, 1871 (25). This was Manitoba's first legislation with respect to education. The Act provided for the establishment of a Board of Education with equal representation for Catholics and Protestants, and for the appointment of a Superintendent of Protestant Schools and a Superintendent of Catholic Schools. The Board's duties included the making of regulations for the general organization of the common schools, the selection of books, maps and globes (English and French), and the alteration and sub-division of school districts. Each section of the Board had the control and management of the schools of the section and the duty to make rules and regulations for the examination, grading and licensing of teachers, and for the prescription of books with reference to religion or morals. Appropriations by the Legislature for common school education were to be divided equally between the sections. The superintendents were also charged with the duty of calling a meeting of male inhabitants of age twenty-one and over of each school district for the election of three persons to be the school trustees for the district. At a duly called meeting the electorate could determine in what manner contributions were to be raised towards the support of the school, whether by subscription, by collection of a fee, or by an assessment on the property of the school district.

Manitoba's first school system was modelled somewhat on that of

the province of Quebec. A "dual" Board, rather than a central provincial authority, assumed control over the schools. In creating numerous local school districts, it also decentralized control of the schools.

The Act also made provision for a Protestant in a Catholic School District, and for a Catholic in a Protestant School District, to send his child to a school district of his own faith and to pay his contributions to that district.

Subsequent Legislation Affecting School Districts

Whereas the first school legislation (in 1871) designated twenty-four districts as Catholic or Protestant, according to amendments enacted in 1873 a school district was defined as Catholic or Protestant, depending upon the religion of the resident majority. The amendments also provided for the introduction of separate schools within established school districts. That is, provision was made for the organization of a separate Roman Catholic school within a Protestant school district, and vice versa (26).

Shortly thereafter, however, an influx of Protestants, largely from Ontario, upset the Protestant-Catholic balance. In 1875 the membership on the Protestant and Catholic Committees of the Board of Education was altered to twelve and nine respectively. The legislative appropriation was no longer equally divided between the two Committees, but in proportion to the number of children of ages five to sixteen in the respective school districts. Such districts, Protestant and Catholic,

could be coterminous (27).

By 1879 legislation was passed to require urban school district boundaries to be coterminous with those of the incorporated towns or cities (29). Municipal councils were empowered to establish or alter school district boundaries upon the petition of interested parties in 1883 (30). The following year it became their duty to do so when such was deemed necessary (31). The Board of Education could form school districts in unorganized areas (32). In 1885 all school districts within the province "in whatever manner established" prior to April 29, 1884, but operating according to regulations, were considered legally established school districts for all intents and purposes. All lands within three direct miles from school sites were subject to a school tax (33).

No significant school legislation was passed between 1885 and 1890, but political developments during these years, partly in the form of Protestant-Catholic and Anglo-Saxon-French conflicts, were preparing the stage for educational legislation of a most revolutionary nature. The Public Schools Act of 1890 was assented to and came into force on May 1 of that year. It swept away the system which provided for denominational and separate schools, declaring that "all Public Schools shall be free schools," and that the public schools be non-sectarian. All existing Protestant and Catholic schools came under this Act. The assets and liabilities of Catholic and Protestant school districts became those of the public school districts (36). Religious exercises were to be

restricted to "just before the closing hour in the afternoon" at the option of the district trustees (35). The Department of Education Act, enacted on the same date, transferred all the powers previously held by the Board of Education to an Executive Council and an Advisory Board (34). The Advisory Board was given extensive powers of regulation, subject only to the approval of the Legislative Assembly. The Public Schools Act also made provision for the establishment of school districts including not more than twenty square miles of territory and being not more than five miles across in a straight line. Provision was made for the formation, alteration, and dissolution of union school districts. Ten pupils were required in the area to be organized as a school district. School trustees were required to be resident ratepayers, of age twenty-one or over, and able to read and write. It is of interest to note that many parts of the new School Act were copied directly from the Ontario statutes.

The school legislation immediately following that of 1890 was at first an attempt to resolve the conditions of stress and strain between the English and French speaking people of the province, and finally an attempt by the English speaking majority to eliminate any further involvement in arbitration by revoking most special privileges which had been granted to minority groups.

In 1890 to 1892 the Barrett and Logan cases, contesting the legality of a tax levy on the property of persons supporting a private school of their choice, travelled upward through the judicial system

all the way to the Privy Council which held that The Public Schools Act was intra vires. A petition from the Catholic Bishops of Canada in 1894 was followed by a recommendation issued by the Governor General in Council to the Manitoba Government urging the latter to remedy the situation (39:47). The Manitoba Government in its reply maintained that no distinction was being made between Catholics and Protestants, and refused to act on any recommendations.

In 1895 The Brophy case was brought before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which held that an appeal lay to the Governor General in Council. The latter ruled that the rights of the minority had been affected and that it would be in order for Parliament to pass remedial legislation, as it was empowered to do under section 93 of the B.N.A. Act. Negotiations which followed between the federal and provincial governments resulted in no change of course on the part of the province. In 1895 the Throne Speech indicated that the Manitoba Government would uphold the existing school system whether or not the Dominion Government would demand any modifications. Though a remedial bill received its first reading in 1896, the term of Parliament expired before the bill could be passed. The same year Canada's new Prime Minister, Laurier, sought to persuade the Manitoba Government to make some amendments which would give some measure of relief to the French and yet not offend the ultra-Protestant supporters of the provincial government (1:14-31).

The amendments to The Public Schools Act in 1897, a consequence

of the so-called Laurier-Greenway compromise, provided for the following: religious teaching could be provided in a school upon the decision of a majority of the school board, or upon the petition of the parents of ten children in a rural school district or of twenty-five children in a village, town or city school district; Catholic parents could petition for the placement of at least one Catholic teacher in a rural or village school for every twenty-five Catholic children, and for every forty Catholic children in a town or city school (37). Apparently with a view to satisfying the Mennonites, the language privilege was extended without distinction as to race or place of birth by the following amendment:

When ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language, or any other language than English, as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English upon the bi-lingual system (38).

The public school system of Manitoba consequently was changed from a bilingual to a multilingual system. At one time Normal Schools were operating in Winnipeg, St. Boniface, Portage la Prairie, Brandon, Gretna, and Manitoba. Some of these were designed to prepare teachers for particular bilingual schools, such as the French, the Ukrainian, or the Mennonite.

In 1907 an attempt was made to impress upon the peoples of the province that they were indeed under British rule. No school district would receive a government grant unless the British national flag was flown (22). In 1916 school attendance became compulsory for all children in the province over age seven and under fourteen when The School

Attendance Act was passed (24). The same Act also specified that the qualifications of teachers of private schools were to be checked annually. School boards of city and town districts had been empowered as early as 1876 to require children of ages seven to twelve to attend school for part of the year (28). The year of 1916 also marked the end of bilingual schools as part of the public school system. A statute, effective on March 10, was passed, repealing the section of the Act enacted in 1897 which introduced the bilingual system (23).

The Racial Conflict

Clague (1) and Woods (39), among many others, closely examined what has become known as "the Manitoba School Question." Woods, who became the first Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba, studied the historical problem from the viewpoint of a conflict between two races, the English and the French. Though the conflict began in an attempt to maintain, or to upset, the balance of powers and privileges between the two races, the advantages which were sought by various new immigrant groups inclined the latter to favor the French and to become involved in the struggle, even though mainly on the periphery.

As early as 1871 Archbishop Tache of St. Boniface pleaded for immigrants from Quebec, France, and Belgium, in order to counteract the increasing English population and protect the privileges granted to his people. The school legislation of 1873 was to the advantage of the French Catholics in that it made the establishment of French schools

(as separate schools) in other parts of the province more expedient.

On the other hand, bills opposing denominational schools were presented before the Legislature as early as 1871, and such pressure to change the system continued throughout the following years.

In 1890 four events occurred in rapid succession: 1) a motion introduced by the Premier that the business of the Assembly be conducted in English only was carried; 2) all former statutes relating to education were repealed and a new educational system was established; 3) the provision with respect to French jurors was removed; and, 4) six Catholic holidays recognized by law were reduced to two (39:38). A redistribution bill of 1892 enlarged Assembly membership to forty but so arranged electoral districts that the number of French constituencies were reduced to three. An Act of 1894 called for the cancellation of municipal grants to schools not complying with The Public Schools Act, and thus forced an additional burden upon Catholics wishing to maintain private schools (39:47). A petition from the Catholic Bishops of Canada to Parliament failed to have the Act disallowed.

The amendments of 1897 were intended to provide a tolerable settlement between the English and the French. The amendments, however, were couched in terms that made possible a proliferation of bilingual schools among various racial groups in the province. Thornton, Minister of Education, warned in 1915 that:

. . . the result of this policy was the emphasizing and maintaining of all the divergent factors composing our national life. Instead of the school being the agency for uniting our differences, it was

becoming an agency for emphasizing increasing divisions (39:60).

Upon his retirement in 1939, Deputy Minister R. Fletcher, who entered the service of the Manitoba Department of Education in 1903, recalled:

The following example shows the absurd situations which could arise under the bi-lingual legislation. From one district with an enrolment around fifty pupils came petitions for bi-lingual teaching in Polish, Ukrainian, Swedish and Gaelic, and each petition was valid under the Public Schools Act. The Swedish and Gaelic petitions, be it said, wanted only English in the school and entered their petitions only to spike the claims of the two other parties (14:7).

By June 30, 1916, there were 421 bilingual schools of different kinds out of 1,685 one-room schools (39:58). In the spring of that year the amendment permitting the operation of bilingual schools within the public school system was repealed. Woods, in the preface to his thesis "The Two Races in Manitoba," included the following resume:

The Laurier-Sifton Agreement of 1897 though intended as a settlement was never accepted by the French element. The multitudes from central Europe with their varied languages, customs and ideals, streamed into western Canada during the earlier years of the present century. Several of these nationalities proceeded to avail themselves of the language privilege of the above Agreement. The French element had not only neglected in a measure the teaching of English in their own schools, but as well, were sympathetic to the pretensions of the other nationalities. Another crisis was precipitated in 1916, and the French element lost the legal right to teach its language in the public schools of the province . . . (39).

The matter did not rest there. Repeatedly, over the years the Manitoba French Catholics strove for amendments to the Public Schools Act, but without success. The Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education (1959) contained recommendations for public support of private schools. A storm of controversy swept the province and the

government refrained from implementing the related recommendations. However, the French did not cease to press the issue. In April of 1964 the Legislature appointed a committee which held public hearings and prepared the recommendations which were incorporated in Bill 141 (6:1349-53). A "shared services" plan would provide for free text books and transportation for pupils, and the use of certain public school facilities by the pupils of private schools, as arrangements could be made between school division boards and qualified private schools. The Bill was passed by a vote of 36 in favor and 9 against after the longest and most heated debate in years (8:2571). Upon moving that the House concur in the report of the committee on "shared services," the Hon. G. Johnson, Minister of Education stated that:

For the first time in 70 years at our last regular session, the Legislature was asked to consider a new approach to a problem which in years gone by has divided our people as no other problem has -- a problem involving a mixture of religion and politics too explosive to be considered over these several years by any single political party (7:1629).

Summary and Discussion

Manitoba's first school system comprised Catholic and Protestant sections, each administering Catholic and Protestant schools respectively. Within two years legislation was enacted permitting the introduction of separate schools, by Protestant or Catholic minorities, within established Catholic or Protestant school districts. Eventually a single non-sectarian school system, established by law, replaced all publicly supported Catholic, Protestant and separate denominational

schools. Thereafter most school districts operated only one school. As school districts were small, it was not unusual to find all or most of the people of a district to be of the same ethnic group, and no more unusual to find them of the same religion. Since separate schools were no longer provided for, these small districts served almost as well in homogeneous communities. True, the special language privilege was eliminated, but the religious teaching period at the end of the day could be taught in the language of choice, and by choice the day could be extended beyond the official closing hour for additional language instruction, as was the practice in many communities. Larger units of administration would in many instances destroy such a practical convenience. As is shown in Chapter IV, Manitoba was slow to accept the larger unit of administration. It is probable that the nature of the provincial system of education was a relevant factor. The Boundaries Commission of 1958 was instructed to take into consideration ethnic and religious groups as it projected school division boundaries for the province.

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CHAPTER IV

DEVELOPMENT OF MANITOBA'S SYSTEM OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

I. INTRODUCTION

In Chapter III the development of Manitoba from a province of two races to one of many ethnic groups was traced. The provincial school system was initiated under dual Catholic-Protestant control, modified to a single provincial system with provisions for the setting up of separate school districts at the request of minority denominational groups, and changed to a non-sectarian system at the behest of a determined majority. Nevertheless, a pattern of homogeneous ethnic groups had been firmly established, and school districts developed a tendency to be ethno-centered. A multiplicity of local municipal and school administrations developed and provincial plans or designs seemed to yield to the preferences of local governments.

In this chapter school district organization and reorganization will be examined in some detail. It is essential to examine the administration of school districts from a historical and developmental point of view in order to assess with greater understanding in subsequent chapters the kind of legislation that has governed school districting in the province, and also to assess the local factors which show relationship to the kind of school districts which developed.

II. ORGANIZATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

The Parish

As was indicated in Chapter III, there were twenty-four parishes, twelve Protestant and twelve Catholic, by 1871. These parishes were officially recognized as school districts for educational purposes by the School Act of 1871. The twenty-four parishes comprised the twenty-four school districts, and also comprised the twenty-four electoral divisions of the day. The schools in these parishes had been established privately or by denominational missions. They were made eligible to receive whatever financial assistance was appropriated by the Legislature for that purpose.

The School District

Throughout the years various kinds of school districts were developed in the province.

The Public Schools Act (R.S.M., 1954) defines these as follows:

school district -- "a district for public school purposes formed or continued under this Act;"

rural school district -- "a school district situated wholly in one or more rural municipalities or in unorganized territory;"

consolidated school district -- "a district . . . formed by uniting a school district with one or more districts adjacent thereto;"

union school district -- "a district the area of which is not contained within one municipality or one local government district;"

village school district -- "a district situated wholly or partly within the limits of a village;"

town school district -- "a district situated wholly or in part within the limits of a town;"

city school district -- "a district situated wholly or in part within the limits of a city;"

municipal school district -- "a district the boundaries of which coincide with those of a rural municipality; or . . . with those of a local government district, excepting therefrom such lands as are comprised in a union school district" (57:s. 2).

From the foregoing definitions it can be seen that a district can fall into several classifications at the same time. For example, a specific district can be rural, consolidated, and union; another could be union, consolidated, and village. Though the Act defines the municipal school district as "rural," a district situated wholly within the limits of a city or a suburban municipality has at times been referred to as a municipal school district.

The small rural school district was essentially an expedient unit of school administration making possible an educational service to pioneer communities. It had functioned well in the United States and in eastern Canada. Legislation, therefore, was fashioned to make the establishment of school districts of various kinds as convenient as possible. Only ten children of school age were required in order to establish a district; the area encompassed by the district was to be

limited to twenty square miles, and it was not to be more than five miles across at any point (84). By 1899 the district could be of any shape but could not exceed twenty-five square miles in area (85). Three years later provision was made for the creation of a district without limitation as to its area, if conveyance for pupils were provided. Interested parties could petition municipal councils to establish or alter school districts (81). However, the council was also charged with the responsibility to assume that function without petition, if necessary (82). The Board of Education had been given the power to organize school districts in unorganized territory (83). Inspectors of schools later assumed the same function (70). By 1919 the power to create school districts and also to appoint official trustees where necessary was vested in the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council (61).

Table IX, page 101, illustrates the rapid growth in the number of school districts from 1871 onwards. In 1933 there were 1,943 operating districts. From then on the number of operating districts dropped gradually, but not impressively, until 1958 and the succeeding years when the consolidation of districts once more gained momentum. In the six-year period from 1952 to 1958 the number of operating districts decreased by only 71, or by 4.2 per cent. During the next six-year period, from 1958 to 1964, the number of operating districts decreased by 431, or by 26.1 per cent. The current interest in one-district school divisions could result in a drastic reduction in the

TABLE IX
NUMBER OF OPERATING AND CLOSED SCHOOL DISTRICTS, 1871-1966^a

Selected Year	No. of Operating S.D.	No. of Closed S.D.
1871	24	---
1885	343	---
1890	627	---
1901	1,063	---
1909	1,386	---
1925	1,831	---
1933	1,943 ^b	87
1941	1,875	---
1951	1,690	---
1952	1,722	210
1957	1,679	219
1958	1,651	215
1959	1,567	210
1960	1,478	218
1961	1,361	232
1962	1,313	235
1963	1,264	259
1964	1,230	255
1965	1,150	258
1966	1,047	246

^a Source: Annual Reports of the Manitoba Department of Education.

^b Highest recorded number of operating school districts for any one year was 1,943 for the year 1933.

number of school administrative units.

The Consolidated School District

The consolidated school district was Manitoba's first attempt to provide a unit of administration which would provide a measure of equality of opportunity to pupils and a measure of equalization of cost to rate-payers. Consolidations which included village or town school districts usually added the opportunity of attending a high school for rural children.

Provision for establishing consolidated school districts was made as early as 1902 (56). The formation of a consolidated district required the dissolution of the districts involved in the merger and the election of a new school board. Two or more districts could be united if the trustees in each such district passed resolutions requesting the municipal council to pass such a by-law. If ten rate-payers of a district petitioned, the trustees acted according to the decision of a ratepayers' meeting. An amendment of 1911 made a decision of the ratepayers of a district essential if any one trustee dissented with respect to a request for consolidation (60:s.12). In 1933 the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council was empowered to unite districts in organized or disorganized territory (66). In 1905 a grant up to five-hundred dollars was made available for a school district merger (59). This provision was repealed in 1921, an action which could well have been one important factor contributing to the complete cessation of the

consolidation movement after the year of 1922 (63).

Manitoba's first two consolidated school districts were established at Virden and Holland in 1905. By 1914 Manitoba's Deputy Minister claimed that "No other Province in the Dominion has made such substantial progress along this line" (20). By 1916 a total of 72 consolidated units comprised about one-tenth of the entire organized school area (21).

Table X, page 104, illustrates the early growth of the consolidated school district movement, and its complete inertia from 1922 until 1958 when the formation of school divisions seems to have stimulated the organization of consolidations within many of the divisions. Consolidations, however, did not produce large units of administration. The 41 new consolidations formed in 1912 and 1913 involved 111 districts, or an average of 2.7 districts per consolidation. During the 1959 to 1966 period the 99 new consolidations formed involved 282 districts, or an average of less than 2.9 districts per consolidation. During this same period an additional 366 school districts were dissolved. These districts were joined to existing consolidations, or their lands assigned to adjacent operating districts.

The Municipal School District

Consolidations which included towns or villages usually resulted in the provision of the opportunity to attend a high school for the rural children of the included districts. However, most rural consolidations

TABLE X

NUMBER OF CONSOLIDATED SCHOOL DISTRICTS, 1905 - 1966^a

Selected Year	No. of New Consolidations	Accumulative Total ^b
1905	2	2
1910	5	12
1913	19	48
1916	4	72
1919	13	92
1920	13	105
1921	5	110
1922	1	111
1934	-	109
1958 ^c	5	
1959	23	
1960	15	
1961	10	
1962	12	
1963	7	
1964	14	
1965	12	194
1966	6	200

^aData obtained from Annual Reports of the Manitoba Department of Education.

^bAccumulative total includes consolidations formed in years not indicated.

^cAccumulative totals were not available for the years 1958 to 1964.

were not large enough to include a sufficient number of pupils to make such provision feasible. The purpose of municipal school district organization was to include a much larger area, that of the entire municipality, so that not only tax resources would be increased and the equalization of cost extended over more rate-payers, but that a much broader educational program, including high school, would be available to all children of the district. The establishment of a municipal school district required the dissolution of the included school districts and the control of all schools within the enlarged district by one elected school board (45:s. 17).

Provision for the establishment of municipal school districts upon a three-fifth majority vote of the electorate in school districts located wholly in a municipality was made in 1911 (60:s.11). If the boundaries of a rural district became coterminous with those of a municipality, it would be declared a municipal school district, according to the legislation of 1928 (64). An Act passed in 1936 empowered the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council to establish a municipal school district wherever all rural districts in a municipality were under the direction of official trustees (67).

Eight years after legislation for the formation of municipal school districts was passed, the first one was created in the municipality of Miniota in 1919. An attempt to dissolve the unit in 1922 failed when a vote against disestablishment carried by a narrow margin. A supervisor of instruction was employed by the district from 1919 to

1931, at which time the office was discontinued for financial reasons. The Miniota Municipal School District comprised an area of 246 square miles. Its eleven schools were reduced to eight by 1928, four of which were one-teacher schools. The advantages claimed for the unit were an equalized tax burden, improved instruction through adequate supervision, secondary education available to all, and efficient pupil transportation (46). A by-law for the establishment of a municipal school district at Dauphin in 1919 was defeated (40:1919, p. 11).¹

Table XI, page 107, illustrates the extent to which municipal school districts were formed. The first, in 1919, was formed by choice of the electorate. Eight were established by order-in-council in 1936. Out of twelve rural municipal school districts, only four were established as a result of local action. The other eight were established as a consequence of local inaction, as all schools therein were under the direction of official trustees.² Since 1959 school

¹Throughout the thesis, wherever reference is made to an Annual Report of the Manitoba Department of Education, the year of the Report is given. For example, (40:1919, p. 11) refers to page 11 of the Annual Report of 1919.

²According to 1961 D.B.S., a greater mixture of ethnic groups reside in these municipalities, and the proportion of people of British origin ranges from 11 per cent (St. Laurent) to 54 per cent (McCreary). Educational leadership was obviously lacking, as official trustees managed the school districts. However, much of the cause can also be contributed to the marginal lands of these areas. None of these areas are prosperous even today (11:71-75).

TABLE XI
FORMATION OF MUNICIPAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS, 1919 - 1959^a

Year	Name	No. of S.D. involved
1919	Miniota	11
1936 ^b	Alonso (L.G.D.) ^c	11
	Armstrong (L.G.D.)	-
	Piney (L.G.D.)	-
	Glenella	-
	Lawrence	-
	McCreary ^d	-
	St. Laurent	-
	Woodlea	-
1956	Edward	6
1958	Rosser	9
1959	Elton	11
	Fort Garry ^e	4
	St. Vital ^e	6

^aSource: Annual Reports of the Department of Education.

^bAll school districts within the given municipalities were under official trustees (40:1959, p. 29).

^cLocal Government District (L.G.D.) means an incorporation of the inhabitants of any locality, or two or more localities, wholly or partly in unorganized territory or in a disorganized municipality. The District is created as a tax collecting medium for educational and other purposes in areas where the population and economy would not warrant the establishment of a municipality.

^dMcCreary was subsequently listed as a consolidated school district.

^eFort Garry and St. Vital, both suburban municipalities, were declared single-district school divisions as of April 1, 1959 (40:1959, p. 29).

(Note: Some references have been made to a municipal school district of Birch River, located within the present Agassiz School Division, but the dates of establishment and apparent dissolution were not located.)

divisions have assumed all responsibility for secondary education. Thereafter rural municipal school districts have operated elementary schools only.

The School Area

By the 1940's the only municipal school district which had been established upon the request of an electorate was the one organized in the municipality of Miniota in 1919. The major obstacle seemed to be the requirement that rural school districts be dissolved and that local control through an elected local board be surrendered. It was thought that the difficulty might be overcome by providing the rural rate-payers with the choice of a larger administrative unit which would provide them with many of the benefits of a municipal school district but allow them as much control as they may choose to exercise, within broad limits, with respect to their local elementary school.

After much urging on the part of schoolmen and the presentation of a report by a special committee of the Legislature (54), legislation was finally passed in 1945 providing for the establishment of not more than two¹ larger units of school administration (68). The unit, called a school area, could comprise

¹This was later amended to "not more than three school areas." The intent of the Government was to allow for experimentation before accepting the area as a common unit of larger administration for the province. The Government need not have feared undue haste on the part of the people.

all or part of the lands contained in one or more municipalities, and where deemed advisable by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, all or part of the lands contained in any union school district, even if part of the union school district is not in a municipality or is in unorganized territory (57:s. 24).

A municipality or part of a municipality was not to be included in the proposed school area unless a majority of all the electors voted in favor of the by-laws submitted by their respective municipalities (57:s. 26). In general, the school area board was charged to exercise general supervision and control over all schools, have full authority with respect to secondary schools, appoint all teachers and pay their salaries (57:s. 35). Boards of school districts within the school area remained custodians of their school buildings, represented the interests of the residents of the district, and selected the teachers to be appointed by the area board for their respective elementary schools. They could also recommend the transfer of a teacher or the termination of a teacher's contract (57:s. 34). The school area differed from a municipal school district in that it could comprise a much larger area and therefore had the advantage of a broader tax base and a larger pupil population. On the other hand, district boards were retained and the centralization of schools required the goodwill of local school boards and the people whom they represented.

The only other legislation of significance with respect to school areas was passed in 1965. Permissive legislation was passed making it possible for the majority of the resident electors of a

division¹ to vote in favour of

giving to the board of the division the powers and duties of a board of trustees of a school area and limiting the powers and duties of the boards of trustees of the school districts in the division to the powers and duties of a board of trustees of a school district in a school area (73:s. 446B).

If action were taken with respect to this legislation by any school division, that division virtually would be transformed into a school area.

General interest in school areas developed at Brandon, Roblin, Dauphin and Swan River. In the Brandon vicinity differences developed over such matters as to which town should have the better school facilities, which town would be the center of a proposed area; furthermore the rural trustees were opposed. No plan of action was developed.

A proposed Shell River Area with Roblin as the major center was defeated by a narrow margin in a vote held in April of 1946. Though about ninety public meetings had been held, many fears were expressed by ethnic-religious groups, and local school trustees (2:24).

The Dauphin-Ochre School Area was established on January 1, 1947, following a successful vote in August of 1946. The two towns had voted overwhelmingly in favor of the area; the rural vote was against the area by a narrow margin. The referendum carried in spite of heavy opposition in the form of literature mailed to all electors two days prior to the vote (2:29).

¹Divisions are discussed on p. 114.

The only other attempt to establish a school area was at Swan River. The referendum was held upon receiving a petition signed by at least twenty per cent of the electors. However, in spite of an informative campaign, it was defeated in November of 1952 (2:31).

Upon its inception, the Dauphin-Ochre School Area comprised twenty-four townships, a total population of 14,500, and a school population of 2,300. Though 17 of its 44 school districts are not now operating schools, there appears to be no pressing need for consolidation as such would not particularly affect the actual operation of the Area.

The organization of the Dauphin-Ochre School Area made possible the development of a composite high school at Dauphin which was able to offer matriculation, commercial, general shop, home economics, and agriculture programs. Within a year travelling libraries were instituted, an audio-visual teacher visited all schools, supervisors for music and speech training were appointed, and better salaries could be paid to teachers (40:1948, pp. 36-38). In spite of the fact that the Department of Education in 1950 issued 657 permits to non-certified teachers, this school area was able to boast a fully qualified teaching staff (40:1950, p. 47).

The High School District and the Secondary School Area

Legislation was passed as early as 1920 providing for the establishment of high school districts (62). The establishment of

the high school district could be initiated by a petition from rate-payers to municipal council, whereupon a by-law would be submitted to an area vote. The high school would be developed in one of the public school districts. The board of the high school district would be that of the district within which the school would be located and three additional members elected from participating districts. The same provisions were found in the statutes of 1930 (65) but were not contained in those of 1940. The annual report of the Department contains no reference to the establishment of such districts. It is assumed that none were created.

Another attempt to make provision for extending high school opportunities to rural districts was made with the passing of legislation in 1953 permitting the establishment of areas for secondary purposes (69). A by-law could be submitted by the municipality to the electors upon the receipt of a petition of twenty per cent of the electors. Provision was made in 1956 for the inclusion of additional school districts to existing secondary school areas, subject to a majority vote in favor of joining by the electors at a district meeting (71).

It appears that the secondary school area legislation was passed in order to provide an alternative unit to the school area, which was not being favorably considered by any part of the province. Unlike the school area, for which the powers of district boards were diminished, the introduction of the secondary school area in no way whatsoever

changed the status of the component school districts or its boards with respect to the elementary school program. The rate-payers merely chose that their lands be taxed for the support of high school services, and elected the board of the secondary school area. Credit for the conception of the secondary school area plan was given to the Manitoba School Trustees' Association which had submitted its recommendations to the Provincial-Municipal Commission appointed by the Legislature in 1951 (37:3).

Four such secondary school areas were created: the Portage la Prairie Secondary School Area No. 1, comprising 19 school districts, on January 1, 1955; the North Norfolk Secondary School Area No. 2, comprising 32 school districts, on January 1, 1957; the Springfield Secondary School Area No. 3, comprising 29 districts, on January 1, 1957; and, the Neepawa Secondary School Area No. 4, comprising 16 districts, on January 1, 1958. In each of these areas high school enrolment increased considerably. In the Springfield Secondary School Area No. 3, for example, high school enrolment rose from 96 to 173 within one year (40:1958, p. 83).

If the school division plan had not been initiated, it is quite likely that several more secondary school areas would have been established. The division plan, however, provided for a province-wide and more orderly development, avoiding the haphazard growth of scattered secondary school areas. All of the secondary school areas were included in the school divisions which were established by April 1, 1959. The

part of the Act relating to secondary school areas was repealed later in the same year (72), and secondary school areas which had been in existence for only one, two, and four years ceased to be. The transition from secondary school area to school division was not difficult, as Inspector Rhind reported with respect to the Portage la Prairie School Division:

This inspectorate, having had within its boundaries the first secondary school area in the Province, the transition from area to division was effected without too much disturbance. The area just grew larger (40:1960, p. 80).

The School Division

Experimentation with secondary school areas apparently was sufficiently successful to encourage the Manitoba government to implement a plan recommended by the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education. The Commission recommended

. . . the establishment of an administrative system which would place secondary education under a Division Board but would leave elementary education under Local Boards (17:45).

Essentially the division provided for secondary education, as had been provided by the secondary school area. However, instead of local school districts initiating the organization of such a unit, an overall plan, covering the entire province, was provided by a provincial agency. Each unit was accepted or rejected by the local electors upon a mandatory referendum. The Commission also recommended that several city and suburban school districts be considered large enough to constitute divisions (17:49). By changing their legal status from

"district" to "division," they were qualified to receive the increased grants available only to districts within divisions. Such divisions, comprising only one district each, are called single-district divisions. In such divisions the total elementary and secondary school program is under the direction of one board only. In contrast, a multi-district division comprises the total divisional territory administered by a division board for high school purposes only, and comprises also two or more autonomous school districts administered by their respective boards for elementary school purposes only.

In August, 1958, the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education completed its interim report recommending the immediate appointment of a Boundaries Commission for the determination of division boundaries throughout the province (17). In a report to the Minister on January 13, 1959, the Boundaries Commission recommended 46 proposed divisions. A vote was called for February 27 in 36 of the proposed divisions, and carried in all but four (Stanley, Rhineland, Boundary and Hanover). The remaining 32 were established as divisions on April 1, 1959. The school districts of Winnipeg, St. Boniface, Norwood, St. James and Flin Flon were established as single-district divisions without a vote. Votes were deferred in four proposed divisions, some of which were in the process of forming larger districts. By June, 40 divisions were in operation.

The Dauphin-Ochre School Area No. 1 voted to retain its area form of organization in preference to forming a division. Hanover

School Division was formed as a result of a second vote. The boundaries of Stanley and Rhineland were altered to form the three divisions of Western, Garden Valley and Rhineland, each of which had voted for the plan by January 1, 1964. Following a successful vote, Boundary School Division was established January 1, 1966 (40:1959, p. 21; 1960, p. 21; 1963, p. 18).

Special legislation was passed in 1965 providing for the organization of Frontier School Division No. 48, and by September of that year its secondary school at Cranberry Portage was in operation (74). Frontier School Division includes whatever portions of the northern part of the province the Minister decides to add to it. Geographically it is larger than all other divisions put together, and its 3,000 pupils are located in 16 isolated former school districts and 27 underdeveloped settlements (13:13).

In 1966 Manitoba had 47 school divisions and one school area. Ten of the 47 divisions were single-district divisions.¹ The urban municipalities of metropolitan Greater Winnipeg comprise eleven school divisions, some of which include parts of adjacent rural municipalities. Seven of these divisions comprising largely urban territory were single district divisions by 1966. The remaining three single-district divisions were Flin Flon, Kelsey, and Frontier.

Flin Flon School Division is urban only. Most of the population

¹An additional 14 divisions voted in favor of forming single-district divisions on the mandatory referendum held on March 10, 1967. Five others were designated for establishment by order-in-council.

of Kelsey School Division resides in the town of The Pas. The Divisions of Brandon and Portage la Prairie include cities. Lord Selkirk School Division and Dauphin-Ochre School Area include the large towns of Selkirk and Dauphin respectively. The Transcona-Springfield Division includes considerable rural territory as well as the city of Transcona which is part of metropolitan Greater Winnipeg. In 1966 the number of school districts in divisions, excepting the one-district divisions, ranged from as few as 3 (Assiniboine South) to as many as 103 (Lakeshore).

The primary purpose of introducing school divisions was to extend the opportunity of high school education throughout the province. In 1958 the senior high enrolment in the province as a whole was 53 per cent of that in grades six, seven, and eight four years previously. By 1965 this proportion had increased to 75 per cent. Though the grade XII enrolment more than trebled from 1958 to 1966, the per cent of possible enrolment, in terms of a projection from grade VIII, doubled. The comparison would be even more dramatic if only the increase in rural districts not previously served by any particular high school were considered.

Summary and Discussion

Pioneer conditions required the establishment of small school districts wherever people settled. The consolidated school district was an early innovation which provided for larger enrolment, a graded

school, or even a high school. The municipal school district, being larger in territory, offered additional advantages such as a much larger tax base, equalized assessment, and the opportunity to provide additional services. One board managed all the schools within a municipal district, and could also bring about a measure of centralization. The consolidation movement came to a halt early during the third decade of the century, only to be revived in the late 'fifties. Only one larger school area was established. Even though local school boards retained a measure of control within the area, this form of administration was not accepted anywhere else in the province. The secondary school district soon gave way to the school division. The whole province, with the exception of some schools in remote areas, was organized under the school division plan. The next step seems to be the general acceptance of the single-district division as the administrative unit for the direction of the elementary-secondary program under one board. Such a move may make possible the centralization of small rural elementary schools.

III. ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOL DISTRICT ORGANIZATION

Introduction

The development of school district organization in Manitoba has been traced in the preceding pages. An evaluation of the various kinds of school district organization which have been tried in the province follows. This evaluation is based upon the assessment made

by various officials of the Department of Education (primarily inspectors of schools, who were intimately associated with the operation of the school districts), various commissions, and school trustee, teacher, and other organizations. This evaluation is necessary in order to understand more fully the ongoing reorganization process in the province.

Observations of the Department

The observations of inspectors of schools and deputy-ministers of education are recorded in the Annual Reports of the Department of Education.

The school district. The school district, first created in 1871, continued to be the most common unit of school administration -- in fact, the only kind of unit in most of rural Manitoba -- until 1959 when school divisions were organized to provide high school education for all rural parts of the province.

1. The organization of school districts was confounded with problems.

Inspector W. J. Cram reported in 1902 that the formation of new districts was not under adequate control. He found too many schools which had an attendance from three to eight, and suggested the need for a planned system for consolidations (40:1902, p. 78). Inspector E. E. Best pointed out "the unwisdom of dividing and sub-dividing the country into puny districts with starvation equipment" (40:1905, p. 28). Districts of all sizes and shapes developed. As new districts were

formed, older districts were cut into on one or more sides. Cram reported in 1906:

The struggle between the petitioners for the formation of a new district and the other ratepayers of the adjoining and affected districts is followed by a new struggle between the remaining ratepayers on the point that the old school site is no longer in the centre of the district Thus over minor aspects in the educational field much energy is mis-applied. . . . In former years while settlements were being formed here and there in a municipality a maximum size for a school district was fixed. Now that every section of land has thereon its families, these changed circumstances seem to demand a fixed minimum size for a rural school district, or perhaps more, namely, the elimination of the boundaries of local districts, and the permanent location of a sufficient number of school sites in every well settled municipality (40:1906, p. 41).

This problem persisted through the decades. In 1953 J. A. George reported numerous petitions for land transfers from district to district (40:1953, p. 56). He felt the only solution was the formation of larger units. The problem of equalizing taxes in union school districts was mentioned by Inspector R. Goulet as early as 1905 (40:1905, p. 39).

Figure 3, page 121, illustrates the multiplicity of small rural districts as they existed in the municipality of Rhineland as late as 1959 (1:98). Though the municipality has one of the finest net-works of rural roads in the province, schools (mostly one-room schools) are very close geographically. Several are less than two miles apart. In 1959 the smallest district comprised an area less than five, the largest district only 13 square miles; the average for all districts was about eight. The largest district had two school sites,

Fig. 3. Areas in quarter sections of School District within Rhineland.

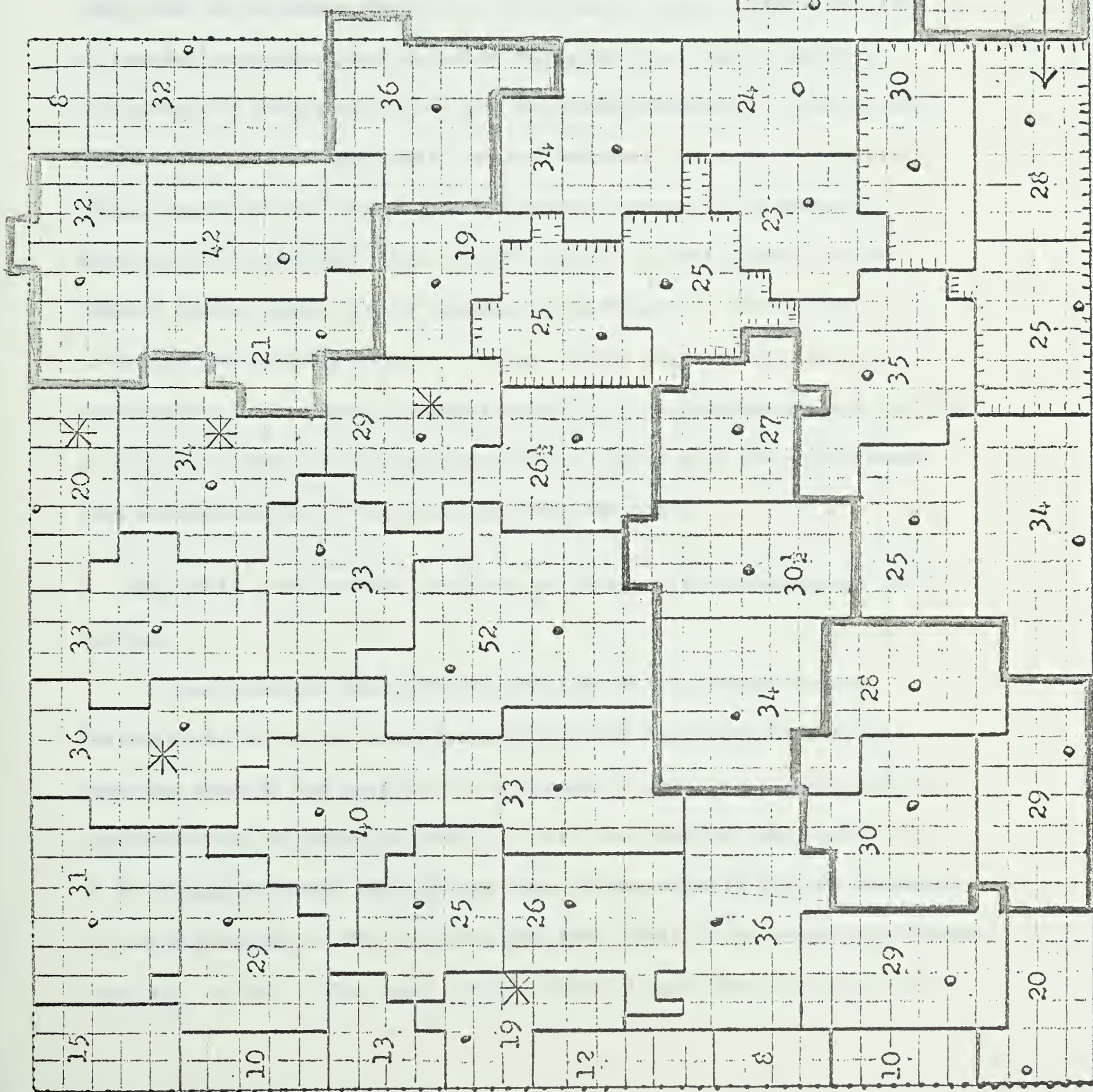
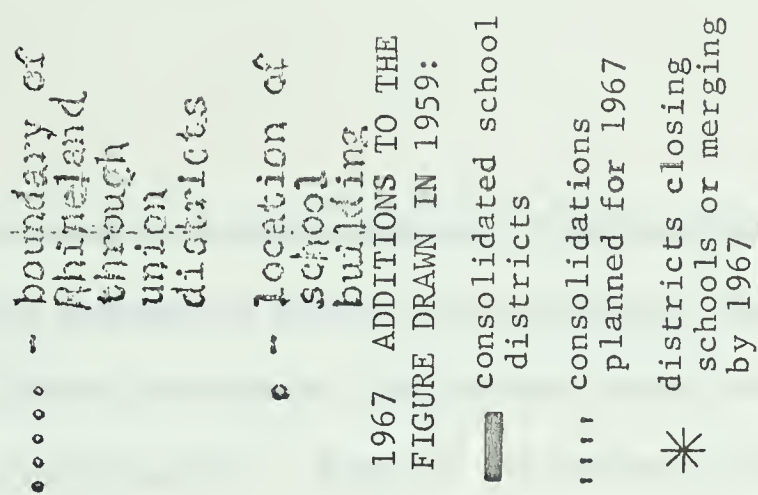


FIGURE 3
SCHOOL DISTRICTS WITHIN RHINELAND MUNICIPALITY

one of which was a one-room school. Even quarter-sections were split in the drawing of district boundaries. The municipality contained 46 school districts in which the school site was located within the municipality. Nine of the 46 were union districts. An additional seven union districts, with school sites located outside of the municipality, were situated along the municipal boundary. The number of school districts has decreased somewhat in recent years by the formation of four small consolidations. About nine districts either operated as closed school districts, merged with existing districts or consolidations, or had planned to consolidate for the 1966-67 school term. It is apparent from Figure 3, that since a consolidation depends upon the choice of the respective districts to enter such a union, such reorganized units grow haphazardly and provide no assurance that new centralized school plants will be placed where they might best serve the populace for some years.

2. The small rural school district was beset with problems and difficulties.

Rural schools have had the problem of low teacher tenure. Inspector A. W. Hooper reported in 1907 that more than half of his one-room schools had more than one teacher in any given year, and that some had three or more (40:1907, p. 53). As late as 1952 Inspector J. A. George reported that 80 per cent of his schools had new teachers at the beginning of the fall term and that "this is an annual occurrence" (40:1952, p. 54). The rural school suffered more than its share of

unqualified teachers. The same year George reported that "for the first time in many years, there were more qualified teachers than permit teachers in charge of this type of school" in his division (40:1952, p. 53). The insecurity of rural teachers was related to other evils. Inspector D. H. Stewart pointed out in 1954 that "Teachers in their endeavor to protect themselves and also to try to satisfy over-zealous parents promote pupils who are not prepared to try the next grade" (40:1954, p. 77).

The percent of possible attendance for rural one-room schools was almost consistently lower than for rural graded schools. The schools were faced with low enrolments and many were forced to close. It was reported in 1951 that:

The population shift of recent years has reduced enrolment in 217 schools to the point where they have been forced to close. In one Inspectorial division there are 29 closed schools, and in each of two others 21. In many other districts there are low enrolment schools in operation. One Inspector reports 40 schools in his division with 12 or fewer pupils in each. Another Inspector reports an average of 12.9 in all his rural one-room schools (40:1951, p. 12).

The drop-out of pupils was also heavy. Richard Moore reported that in his inspectorate "51 per cent of grade VII passed compulsory school age by June 30, 1951, and did not enroll for grade VIII" (40:1952, p. 60). The inability of the rural school to satisfy the social needs of adolescents was given as one of the reasons for the heavy drop-out.

Rural schools were wasteful in terms of effort and cost.

D. S. Woods remarked in 1931 that:

The Province as a whole should not be called upon to provide wastefully for education and that is exactly what happens when a few pupils who might be otherwise accommodated are educated at the cost of a full-time rural school (40:1931, p. 74).

Another inspector, A. A. Herriot, stated in 1936 that "The weakest link in our educational chain is the rural school" (40:1936, p. 73).

According to J. S. Peach, the time for general reorganization had logically come three decades ago, for he said in 1937:

Now that many of the rural schools are in need of extensive repairs it would seem to be an opportune time to survey the rural areas with a view to forming consolidations at strategic points (40:1937, p. 67).

3. The boards of rural school districts were limited in effectiveness.

Following a period of suspension of the requirement imposed upon school boards to buy library books, Deputy Minister R. Fletcher said in 1936:

We cannot afford again to suspend the operation of the Act requiring these annual additions to the library no matter how hard the times may be, for the average school board will not spend money on the library even in good times except under compulsion (40:1936, p. 47).

Rural district boards were not permitted even to purchase maps or books "to the value of ten dollars or more unless the same are selected from a list approved by the Minister" (40:1938, p. 13).

Rural boards did not encourage teacher tenure. The annual report of 1940 stated that the turnover of rural teachers was between thirty-two

and fifty per cent annually and that:

teachers do not look on their positions in Rural Schools as permanent; in fact, they are not encouraged by Rural School Boards to do so . . . the Rural School teacher has naturally to look to town schools where tenure, salary and general conditions are much better (40:1940, p. 26).

Just how significant were the duties of the school board of a small school? The statements of many inspectors to the Department would suggest that the following inspector's report, addressed to a secretary-treasurer in 1938, is typical of the kind of tactful and persuasive remarks about such mundane things as the upkeep and care of school buildings an inspector had to make, let alone attempting a discussion of real educational matters:

Sir:

You are requested to communicate to the Trustees the following remarks respecting the result of my official visit to your school on the above date:

Regarding the school premises I noticed that the stable needs some repairing - before cold weather arrives.

Would it not be wise to transfer one of the window sashes to the other toilet, and close up the spaces. A window in each toilet is plenty. If this were done one new pane of glass would be sufficient.

A few window panes are needed in the school house. Flag rope is needed. No Flag was flying.

I pointed out to Mr. Kastrukoff that it is not safe for children to go to the river, and drink as they have been doing. A pail and cups are badly needed. A water cooler would be a good investment.

. . . Sorry attendance was low. Mr. Kastrukoff is doing earnest and enthusiastic teaching. Exercises of pupils were average (15:11).

4. School districts under official trustees were considered advantageous.

As early as 1916 Inspector A. Willows stated that the teachers

in the 21 districts in his inspectorate which were under an official trustee were more comfortable. By 1919 official trustees managed 161 school districts in the province. Even the ratepayers seemed to prefer having their district under the management of an official trustee, particularly so, after they had experienced such an arrangement. The comments of two inspectors for 1936 are significant.

R. E. Beecher observed that:

A rather peculiar situation is developing as once an official trustee has been in office for a couple of years the people do not want to go back to the old system, as they find that the new is less troublesome and more efficient (40:1936, p. 44).

Beecher had been forced to take over fourteen districts in three and one-half years, and not in a single instance could he get the ratepayers to form a local board "as they discovered that their schools functioned more economically and efficiently when local interference was eliminated" (40:1936, p. 72). H. Connolly reflected upon the effect of the official trustee upon the community as a whole:

Local animosities and district feuds have entirely disappeared from the area since he has taken over the administration of the schools . . . For better results generally, the small unit must eventually disappear (40:1936, p. 75).

5. The rural people were hesitant to accept the principle of school centralization.

In 1905, the year of the first two consolidations in the province, Best remarked that:

The centralization or amalgamation of districts where convenient is sound in principle and is being seriously considered at a few

points, but the people are cautious and no strong movement in that direction has as yet set in (40:1905, p. 28).

Commenting upon the dissolution of a consolidated school district which never began operation due to a quarrel about the school site, Fletcher said in 1921, "The educational interests of the children had to be subordinated to local jealousies" (40:1921, p. 8). Even as late as 1952, after a successful demonstration of the value of the larger unit of administration in providing superior educational services -- that of the Dauphin-Ochre School Area -- Deputy Minister R. O. MacFarlane concluded that:

In spite of the apparent success of the one Area which is in operation there has been relatively little enthusiasm in other parts of the Province to duplicate the experiment. . . . any realistic evaluation of the situation in the Province would seem to indicate that there is little possibility of any widespread duplicating of this type of school administration in spite of its manifest advantages . . . (40:1952, p. 19).

Although Inspector W. J. Parr's comment of 1909 may well have ranked as a prophetic forecast, which time has proved to be quite true, it is doubtful that he envisioned as much time would have to pass. Parr said that:

Although the school may be the last institution to be improved in the struggle for betterment of rural conditions, yet the improvement is sure to come. No doubt consolidation will be one of the means to this end (40:1909, p. 75).

Parr referred to the rural elementary school. More than half a century later the improvement was yet to come for the children of a thousand rural school districts.

6. The policy of the government, as reflected by the Department of Education, was to keep small rural schools in operation.

World War II caused a severe teacher shortage in the province. Though the government might have considered the wisdom and necessity of school centralization in order to capitalize upon the available teacher supply, permits to teach were issued to individuals without teacher training, to many who had not completed grade XII, and even to some who had not complete standing in grade XI. The Deputy-Minister's report of 1941 records the following:

Trustees of a school closed through low enrolment were empowered to re-open such school with the approval of the Minister at the beginning of any term, if it appears that the average attendance will be more than five (40:1941, p. 14).

The 1946 annual report indicated that special authority to teach was given to 826 students, of which number 509 had six weeks training. Of the 826 students, 350 had only grade XI standing. The report on the teaching situation concludes with the euphemistic note, "but all schools were eventually supplied and kept open through the year" (40:1946, p. 10). As late as 1951 the number of permits issued to student teachers was 634. In that year the Deputy-Minister's report includes the statement that "It has been the continued policy of the Department to keep the schools in operation with the most competent personnel that could be found" (40:1951, p. 13).

It appears that the government of the day did not consider the shortage of teachers an adequate reason for exercising active

leadership in the area of school district reorganization. On the contrary, it appears to have been wholly committed to the manner of thinking that the initiative must come from the rate-payers within the small school districts. That the nature of the small district, and the nature of legislation with respect to reorganization, did not encourage any local initiative or action towards such ends, seems to have escaped the thinking of the legislators entirely. This aspect of the problem is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

7. The need for a larger unit of school administration and for more centralized direction was expressed throughout the years.

In 1902 Cram suggested that "a township consolidation system would invariably be more economical without impairing the efficiency of education" (40:1902, p. 78). Fallis, remarking about the inadequacy of reorganization procedures, said in 1906 that the problem could have been reduced if municipal councils had assumed responsibility for dividing the whole municipality into school districts, and that municipal school boards would have been even better (40:1906, p. 59). Deputy-Minister R. Fletcher saw the need for consolidation, and for units at least as large as municipalities, which he believed would have eliminated many of the weaknesses inherent in the small district and make possible more competent local school government and "develop public sentiment in education." In his report of 1909 he said:

The present district system is very faulty in two ways. First, in many cases it places the power of direction in the hands of those who are incompetent, or who lack earnestness; in the next place, it tends to develop a spirit of narrowness which is opposed to the very idea of education (40:1909, p. 39).

In 1919 Inspector G. Hunter reported that in his district 309 trustees and secretaries had administered the affairs of only 2,362 children. He felt that six boards, corresponding to the six municipalities, would have rendered more efficient administration of rural schools (40:1919, p. 11). In the same year Inspector F. H. Belton expostulated:

Twenty-five years participation in educational work has demolished my faith in local control of public school education. . . there is one reform that I feel fully committed to, namely, the enlarging of the present unit of school administration. . . . the assumption of increased expense is not supported by the facts if we measure by the reasonable unit of one day's schooling for one child. . . . (40:1919, p. 19).

Deputy-Minister Fletcher indicated the need for better legislation in his 1935 report. He made the following reference:

Recently the Legislature of North Carolina prohibited the operation of an elementary school with fewer than twenty-two in average daily attendance, or a high school with fewer than fifty average daily attendance, unless after careful calculation, every other plan for caring for the pupils is unsatisfactory (40:1935, p. 13).

Legislation providing for province-wide reorganization at the secondary school level was not enacted until more than two decades later, in 1958; legislation relating to major reorganization with respect to elementary schools was enacted in the spring of 1966.

8. Larger units of school administration, such as were established throughout the province's educational history, in every instance were

considered an improvement over the rural school district.

The larger units under consideration here are the consolidated school district, the municipal school district, the school area, the secondary school area, and the school division.

The consolidated school district. Though the primary objective for consolidated school districts was the provision of a measure of equality of opportunity for pupils at an equalized cost to rate-payers within a given area, a secondary objective of realizing an improved educational program at no greater over-all cost was also attained. Consistently throughout the years reports to the Department claimed that the consolidated unit provided for better equipment, better care-taking, some teacher specialization, improved teacher tenure, more adequate social conditions for children, improved attendance and a decreased drop-out. "No one desires to return to the old order of things," said an inspector in 1910 (18:508). One municipality, that of Hamiota, consisted of five consolidated districts and contained not a single one-room school by 1920 (40:1920, p. 12).

A survey of 1931 found that 85 per cent of fourteen-year olds continued school in the consolidated districts compared to only 45 per cent in the smaller rural districts. In spite of teacher salaries up to 40 per cent higher in the consolidated districts, their cost was estimated to be seven per cent less in terms of higher enrolment, higher attendance, and higher grades attained at age 14 (40:1931, pp. 55-57). In 1934, about a decade after the consolidation movement had

ground to a complete halt, the following assessment was made in a comparison of 93 rural schools with an enrolment of 10 or less with 109 consolidated schools (including 10 one-teacher schools, 23 two-teacher schools, and 76 schools which included high school grades):

The consolidated districts have a higher percentage of attendance, pay much higher salaries and have a lower per capita cost, than the small rural school, and at the same time they provide transportation, better equipment, and, for the most part, secondary education (40:1934, p. 52).

Objections to consolidation were raised as well. In 1913, John A Beattie, special agent for the consolidation of schools, indicated the following: the fear of increased costs; the fear of farm devaluation with the removal of the one-room school; the fear of pupil transportation; and, local prejudices rooted in sentiment with respect to the old school house (19:271). These, and similar objections, remained the same over the years, not only in relation to the consolidated school district, but in relation to any kind of larger administrative unit.

The municipal school district. In 1934, after fifteen years of operation of the Miniota Municipal School District, Inspector W. R. Beveridge reported the following:

One finds here an equalization of the tax burden and an equality of opportunity for the education of the children of the district combined with business like administration of school affairs, which together tend to make secure and more efficient the schools of the district. Nor, as a result of the system of electing trustees, does there seem to be any feeling in the district that local autonomy has been lost (40:1934, p. 63).

The immediate success of the Miniota experiment had caused the

Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association to revive discussion on the larger unit in 1924. In spite of the fact that the advantages of this form of district were proclaimed throughout the years, only three more were formed as a result of local initiative, and these not until the years of 1956 to 1959. The eight districts formed in 1936 were established by the Department. In each district local government had ceased to function and the administration of the schools had been under official trustees. No significant references were made to municipal school districts in the annual reports for the last decade. Their importance apparently diminished in the light of the potential for school division administration.

The school area. The only school area established was that of the Dauphin-Ochre School Area which has been in operation since 1947.¹ In the Area school buildings were improved and teacherages provided. Library equipment and supplies, and facilities in general were made more adequate in quantity and quality. Better salaries were paid to teachers, and better qualified teachers were obtained. Attendance improved, and general supervision of instruction was extended. Deputy-Minister B. Scott Bateman passed the following judgment in 1953:

It is true that there are many rural schools in the Province which are as good as the Area schools but there are few parts where the rural schools are as consistently good over as large a territory (40:1953, p. 18).

Upon the establishment of the school area, Deputy-Minister R. O.

MacFarlane confidently stated that "The School Area will serve as a

¹On March 10, 1967, the Area voted for the single-district plan.

demonstration of the operation of Manitoba's Area Plan" (40:1947, p. 12).

Five years later he expressed his fears that the demonstration would not cause much change in the province:

The Dauphin-Ochre School Area No. 1 has continued to demonstrate the value of the larger unit of administration in providing superior educational services. . . . In spite of the apparent success of the one Area which is in operation there has been relatively little enthusiasm in other parts of the Province to duplicate the experiment. . . . any realistic evaluation of the situation in the Province would seem to indicate that there is little possibility of any widespread duplicating of this type of school administration in spite of its manifest advantages. . . . (40:1952, p. 19).

The school area did not eliminate the rural school district. However, the powers and duties of the school district board were decreased in scope and significance. This aspect of the school area plan did not appeal to rural school trustees in the province.

The secondary school area. As was reported earlier in this chapter, the secondary school area was an attempt to overcome the objection to the school area, in that it provided a larger unit for secondary schools only, and thus left the administration of the elementary schools without restriction to the district boards. Four such secondary areas were established between 1955 and 1958. Their operation was successful. High school enrolment increased substantially. Adjacent rural districts chose to join secondary areas for high school purposes. The secondary areas became obsolete with the introduction of the school division plan in 1959. Their purpose in the evolution of larger units of school administration in the province seems to have been well served. Their acceptance did demonstrate the kind of

administrative unit the people of the province were likely to accept within Manitoba's framework of permissive legislation with respect to school district reorganization.

The school division. Thirty-seven of Manitoba's school divisions were established by April 1, 1959. The Act provides for the disestablishment of a division, provided such action is initiated "not less than five years or more than seven years after the establishment of a division" (45:s. 471A). No petition to initiate such action has been submitted by the electors of any division, and hence the thirty-seven divisions have passed the seven-year trial period successfully. The divisions have performed their primary function most satisfactorily. Thousands of students who might never have attended high school were given the opportunity to do so. The immensity of the problem facing a typical school division upon its inception was indicated by the following statement from the 1960 annual report:

Educating the High School students has caused a good deal of concern the past year. The Division Board was faced with many major problems: hiring qualified teachers, increased enrolment, transportation of students, lack of accommodations. Last year there were 269 students in six High Schools. This is an increase of 47.4%. . . . The next problem was that of transporting 269 students or 68% of the total High School population (40:1960, p. 89).

Observations of Commissions and Committees on Education

As early as 1919 the following statement was expressed by the Commission on Status and Salaries of Teachers:

Your Commissioners have been impressed by the unanimity of opinion expressed in evidence that the creation of a larger unit for the

administration of school affairs should be adopted. The consensus of opinion favored the idea of creating Municipal School Boards which would cover and include the principle of consolidation (48:20).

The Commission recognized the existence of the necessary statutory provisions, but emphasized the need for an educational campaign throughout the province "with a view to the adoption of the municipal elections provisions of the School Act with regard to Municipal School Boards" (48:20). The Commission believed that the municipal school unit would have many advantages, including the following: better educational opportunity for children; more uniform and equitable taxation; retention of better teachers; attraction of more able men into school boards; simplified tax collection; and, more efficient management of transportation routes. The Miniota Municipal District was created upon the wishes of the electorate that same year. Though school inspectors made the concept of municipal school board government known throughout the province, there appears to be a lack of evidence that the provincial government conducted any aggressive educational campaign, such as the Commission suggested.

The Educational Commission of 1924 stated that it was evident "that the most urgent educational problem in Manitoba was that of the rural districts" (49:13). It went on to elaborate that:

Evidently the people of Manitoba have realized the need for a larger unit than the district. They have made provision by which the municipality may become the local unit. It is believed that this is the next logical step for Manitoba to take in developing its rural school system. Therefore, the recommendation is made

that the people of the province made the municipality the unit of local school administration outside of cities . . . the schools of the incorporated towns and villages should be made a part of the school system of the municipality (49:134).

The Commission pointed out that the burden of school support should be distributed more equitably throughout the rural areas of the province. It found, for example, that in two municipalities of approximately equal population, one raised \$4,398 by an imposition of 17.5 mills whereas the other raised \$8,274 with a tax of only 1.9 mills (49:126). Further, it found that though 16 per cent of Manitoba's school districts had been consolidated, half of the consolidations involved an average of less than three districts and that only six of the consolidations involved five or more districts. The Commission recommended "that steps be taken to prepare the people for the institution of Municipal School Boards throughout the Province in the near future" (49:96). It saw in such organization the possibility of wiser programs of school consolidation. However, the Commission also recommended that the Minister of Education be empowered to make temporary arrangements in readjusting districts, and of giving special assistance to schools in need. It appears that government did provide for temporary measures of expediency, which continued to be exercised for the next three or four decades. Additional municipal school districts were established some ten years later, but only where all districts already had surrendered control of school affairs to the official trustee.

A special committee of the Assembly under the chairmanship of the Hon. R. A. Hoey, directed to examine the problem of school administration and finance, received requested submissions from organizations representing the school trustees, the inspectors of schools, and the teachers. After studying also the 1933 report of a general committee representing various interested parties (55), it submitted its report to the Legislature in 1935. It found inspectors and teachers strongly in favor of larger units. The inspectors had recommended that a survey be made to determine what areas be included in each unit. (This was accomplished twenty-three years later, following the report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education.) Hoey's committee made no specific recommendations with respect to school district reorganization, but stated that "our citizens are not yet ready to support the move for a change" (22:30-32).

The Special Select Committee of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly on Education, appointed by a Resolution of the House in 1944 and reporting in 1945 after visiting western and eastern provinces and the states of North Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin, stated in its report that it was particularly impressed by the argument that:

. . . the larger type of school unit is the only type of school organization that could provide the type of education suited to the needs of the pupils of the Province as a whole, particularly of the larger number of boys and girls who leave school at an early age in the rural districts because there is at the present little opportunity for them to pursue their studies in any field beyond the purely academic (54:15).

The Committee accepted the general principle of the larger unit of school

administration and it recommended that "a majority vote of the rate-payers within the area be a condition precedent to the formation of a larger administrative unit" (54:18). Only one larger area was introduced in the province as a consequence of the work of this Committee. The Committee, consisting of fifteen members of the Legislative Assembly, had received some twenty-four briefs and numerous other submissions. It was not convinced that the time had come for the elimination of most one-room schools, but to the contrary, that local school boards should continue to operate. It was not prepared to recommend any measures more aggressive than an educational campaign to inform the public about the proposed experimental school areas. Its major concern with respect to the larger unit of school administration was "that such units could provide a greater degree of equality of educational opportunity, particularly at the secondary level" (54:55).

In 1951 the Legislature appointed a Committee on Provincial-Municipal Relations to study problems of local government. The Committee, reporting in 1953, wrote as follows with respect to larger units and school finance:

. . . any steps toward larger administrative units for school purposes will automatically be of material assistance in reducing inequalities of property taxes as between adjoining properties, and . . . one of the most fruitful sources of bad feeling and misunderstanding in the present set-up is the fact that the special school levy on one small school district may be as high as 30 mills or more while in an immediately adjoining school district the special levy may be only five mills or there may be no specific levy at all (27).

The Manitoba Royal Commission on Education,¹ appointed in May of 1957 and charged "to study and report on all aspects of education in Manitoba, up to University level," submitted its interim report in August of 1958. It found that the "concept of 'local community' was enlarged," that the resources of local school districts were inadequate to meet the demands of modern education, and that it was necessary to secure a greater measure of equalization of cost (17:40). Cognizant of popular objections to larger units of administration and sympathetic to local interests and wishes, the Commission recommended:

. . . the establishment of an administrative system which would place secondary education under a Division Board but would leave elementary education under Local Boards. This recommendation is made because the Commission feels that adequate facilities for secondary education are necessary and can only be provided by a larger unit of administration than now exists in most parts of the Province, and because it believes that local autonomy should be preserved by retaining the Local Boards to operate the elementary schools (17:45).

The Commission proceeded with more forceful recommendations than those of previous commissions and committees. It recommended that a Provincial Boundary Commission be created which would establish the boundaries of prospective divisions with consideration for geographical, economic, and sociological factors. It stipulated that a provincial returning officer take a vote in each division and that an overall majority of votes cast decide the establishment of a division. The Commission did not risk leaving the initiative in the hands of the local electorate

¹Also known as The MacFarlane Commission.

only. For the first time in Manitoba's history a vote on school unit reorganization was to be called without the initiative arising from the local units. The overwhelming support of the division plan proved that the Commission had divined the will of the people correctly. It is true, nevertheless, that the decision was not left entirely to chance, but rather that an aggressive and tireless campaign preceded the referendum. On the other hand, the Commission did not provide an effective plan for the consolidation of elementary school districts. The latter was left to the old and existing formula -- "that so far as possible one-room elementary schools be, by agreement between two or more local school Districts, consolidated into graded schools" (17:57). Nevertheless, the implementation of the recommendations of the Royal Commission were of such significance that the following observation was made in the Michener Report:

The only major change in the organization and administration of public schools in Manitoba since 1890 occurred in 1959 when the Legislature, acting on the recommendation of The Royal Commission on Education, removed secondary schools from the jurisdiction of a multitude of local boards and placed them under a much smaller number of division boards (51:6).

The Municipal Enquiry Commission in Manitoba,¹ representing The Union of Manitoba Municipalities and The Manitoba Urban Association, was established in 1959 by joint resolutions of the two respective bodies. Under the chairmanship of R. M. Fisher, the Commission studied the question of municipal and inter-municipal area boundaries

¹Also known as The Fisher Commission.

and municipal responsibility in the total pattern of government. In its report of 1963 the Commission recommended the establishment of regional or inter-municipal areas. With respect to education, it recommended as a first step that:

All existing school districts, including unions, should be abolished and municipal school districts with an elected school board established, to administer elementary education with boundaries coterminous with the enlarged rural unit and including urban units within these boundaries;

and as a second step that:

The administration of elementary education by a committee made up of members of councils of municipal units within the boundaries of the enlarged rural unit together with a minority group of co-opted citizen members (52:31).

While believing, and recommending, that eventually the province should assume complete financial and administrative responsibility for all education, the Commission conceded that the province may choose to retain the presently elected boards for school divisions. Though the Fisher Commission received a small grant from the provincial treasury and was empowered to collect for its total expenses through a levy imposed upon the municipalities, none of its recommendations were put into effect. However, its study and report paved the way for a commission appointed by the government in the same month in which the Fisher Report was published.

The Royal Commission on Local Government Organization and Finance¹ was established in February 1963 by Manitoba Order-in-Council.

¹ Also known as The Michener Commission.

Its duties were to inquire into all facts and circumstances relating to local government and including the matters raised in the report of the Fisher Commission. Its major recommendations with respect to local government reorganization affecting school administration were summarized as follows:

- 1) Division school boards should be given financial responsibility for elementary public school education and most of the administrative responsibility, leaving the school district boards with advisory powers only, except for maintenance and use of school property, the selection of teachers and the statutory supervision of religious instruction (51:255).

The effect of implementing this recommendation would be to convert school divisions into school areas. Provision for such a change was made in the Manitoba school legislation of 1965. The legislative provisions are permissive, and by the end of 1966 no petition had been received for such a change.

- 2) The Municipal Board is proposed as a suitable permanent Commission to supervise and provide a ready means of readjusting boundaries of municipalities and school districts and divisions, with a view to a more rational territorial organization of local government and the elimination of over-lapping jurisdictions and boundaries between municipalities and school divisions (51:256).

The Commission proposed the reduction of the 106 municipalities to 40 or 50 larger municipalities. School division boundaries were to be made coterminous to the boundaries of the enlarged municipalities (51:220). The Commission recommended the establishment of 11 definite administrative regions, each to comprise the entire area of a number of contiguous rural municipalities and the urban centers within them.

There is an apparent relationship between the respective recommendations of the Michener and Fisher Commissions with respect to municipal government. The Commissions diverged in their views with respect to school government. The Michener Commission believed that "the time has not come to abolish either the election of school trustees or their power to tax" (51:61). It suggested, however, that municipal councils be given either the power to control the special levy of school boards, or the power to appeal to the Municipal Board in matters of the special levy (51:115).

It is apparent that the more recent commissions were characterized by a note of greater urgency and a challenge for change. The Commissions of 1919 and 1924 clarified the contemporary situations and made recommendations to the governments of the day. Their reports did not suggest that change be brought about by mandatory legislation. The Special Select Committee of 1944, consisting of elected members of the government only, surveyed the situation, acknowledged the need for change, but insisted that any impetus for change must come from the electorate. The MacFarlane Commission in its Interim Report of 1958 provided the government with a plan for action in which the government was challenged to initiate change, though the final decision was to be left with the electorate. Similarly, the Michener Commission in 1964 provided the government with a plan for the reorganization of municipal government, likewise to be initiated by the provincial government. The Fisher Commission, representing municipal governments rather

than the government, alone suggested a number of changes the provincial government should initiate without approval of the local electorate, and it alone proposed that the control of education be removed from the local electorate.

School Boards

A Committee of the Manitoba School Trustees' Association¹ published a report in 1930 in which it concluded that "the system of financing and administration of schools in this province has not proven adequate to meet the conditions" (47:27).

In 1933 another committee, consisting of representatives of school trustees, teachers, municipalities, the Department of Education and the Manitoba Tax Commission, submitted a report to the annual convention of the Manitoba School Trustees' Association recommending " . . . a local unit comprised of a municipality or two or more municipalities," and that "the boundaries of all such local units shall be determined by the Provincial Board of Education (an official body to be created), and any alterations in boundaries that may be made, from time to time, shall be made by the said Provincial Board" (55:23). This report was not received favorably by the delegates to the convention, who, in a lengthy debate, expressed their concern over losing control of the one-room rural school. The trustees' conception of local control was in sharp contrast to that of Inspector Moore who

¹Henceforth referred to as the M.S.T.A.

claimed that "The larger unit should be one of the most effective instruments at their disposal for building up a strong local authority" (38:411).

The view of school trustees during the next quarter of a century did not change appreciably. No consolidations occurred until 1958. Only one larger school area was formed in 1947 and three municipal school districts were created between 1956 and 1959. The general inertia was upset when the MacFarlane Commission began its public hearings in 1957. The acceptance of the school division plan for high school education seems to have caused a new focus upon elementary education. Once more consolidations of rural school districts occurred. However, the rate of its progress caused Rene Prefontaine, past president of the M.S.T.A. to sound the warning in 1962 that:

. . . it is quite evident that the movement must be encouraged, and even prodded if no justification is to be given those who say that the only way to get bigger schools is to legislate them into being (39:35).

In preparing the M.S.T.A. presentation to the Michener Commission, twenty-seven regional meetings were held and about 3,000 trustees participated in the discussion of the proposed brief which had been prepared by Prefontaine in his new capacity as executive director of the association. School boards returned questionnaires indicating that they supported school government by elected trustees, the establishment of larger school areas upon local choice, and the

consolidation of districts. The majority indicated that they did not favor municipal school districts, that they thought the school divisions were too large, that they would not establish school areas in their own communities, and that they felt that consolidations were "sufficient to satisfy modern needs and trends in education" (80:15). Some of the Association's major recommendations with respect to school district reorganization were:

- 1) the establishment of "modified elementary areas" or consolidations, provided that they be offered as a local option, and provided that they be small enough so that only one central school would be required for each;
- 2) the establishment of a commission to map out logical consolidation centers across the province;
- 3) the dissolution of school districts which had been closed for five years;
- 4) the restriction of capital grants to one-room school districts;
- 5) the requirement of at least 10 pupils for the operation of a school; and,
- 6) government grants to cover debenture debt of school districts entering consolidation (4:3-4).

The foregoing items were also passed as resolutions at the 1963 annual convention of the Association and submitted to the Minister of Education for his consideration (77). The tenor of this submission differed from that of 1960 in which the M.S.T.A. appealed for transportation

grants for small school districts and larger capital grants for small schools (76:7-8). In its final¹ submission to the government in December of 1964, the M.S.T.A. indicated considerable agreement with the recommendations of the Michener Commission, underlining in particular the need for planned consolidations and its insistence that major changes within divisions occur only upon the wishes of the majority of the electorate (78:3,11).

The Urban School Trustees' Association, representing school boards of districts with a pupil population as low as 88 to one as high as 47,000, submitted to the Michener Commission that consolidations were too small and a hindrance to progress and that school units were generally too weak and therefore invited provincial direction, but forcefully opposed the recommendation of the Fisher Commission with respect to the elimination of school boards (6).

Manitoba's new school trustee organization, the Manitoba Association of School Trustees,² rather than merely waiting for events to happen -- as had been characteristic of the M.S.T.A. prior to 1958 -- aggressively began working for change. Bill 39, passed by the 1965 Legislature, made possible the conversion of school divisions into school areas. The legislation is entirely permissive and requires the petition of at least half of the school boards within a division.

¹The M.S.T.A. and the Urban School Trustees Association of Manitoba united to form the Manitoba Association of School Trustees, June 21, 1965 (32:1).

²Henceforth referred to as M.A.S.T.

M.A.S.T. forwarded copies of the petition to division offices (34:3). The executives of M.A.S.T. and of the Manitoba Teachers' Society, realizing the futility of Bill 39, jointly approached the Government and asked for amendments to the Act to provide for a referendum in every division within a year (35:1). Following the introduction of Bill 16 during the 1966 session of the Legislature, which provided for the introduction of single-district divisions, sixty-seven rural and town boards of the Swan Valley Division "supported nearly unanimously, a resolution calling for one school board to run all education, elementary and secondary, in their division" (36:1). Meetings were being held around the province and increased interest was being expressed in the idea of a single board having financial and administrative responsibility for all education in each division. Alex Anderson, executive director of M.A.S.T., "urged the provincial government to conduct a referendum¹ as soon as possible in each school division on the centralizing of school administration" (86). It would appear that the re-union of Manitoba's school trustees into one body has resulted in a more vigorous approach to the development of an improved system of school district reorganization in the province.

The Manitoba Teachers' Society

The Manitoba Teachers' Society² was bound to support some of the

¹Late in 1966 an official announcement was made that a referendum would be held on March 10, 1967.

²Henceforth referred to as the M.T.S.

recommendations of the MacFarlane Commission. Some of these the M.T.S. had supported for more than forty years. It had advocated larger school areas in the first issue of its magazine, "The Bulletin," in September, 1919 (53:6). In 1945, the M.T.S. cautioned its members not to sell the idea of larger areas as "enthusiasm by teachers beyond manifest interest in the scheme is not particularly helpful at this time" (58:2). By 1957 the M.T.S. had become overtly active in publishing its views, and presented a comprehensive brief to the MacFarlane Commission advocating a school boundaries commission, the introduction of larger areas by statute, the restriction of local district school boards to duties of an advisory capacity only, and the introduction of a foundation program of financing (10:10-28).

The M.T.S. brief to the Michener Commission in 1963 was described by the latter as giving "evidence of careful study of educational problems" (51:62). The M.T.S. was pleased to find that the Commission had accepted 19 of their 24 recommendations, and that these were included in the report (28:8). Perhaps the M.T.S. brief successfully offset the effectiveness of the Fisher Commission recommendations with respect to the matter of provincial control of all aspects of education. The brief strongly emphasized the need for local government in education (5:1-2) and that increased responsibility should be delegated to school boards (5:2-82). Other significant recommendations were: 1) that the boundaries of rural municipalities and school divisions should be made coterminous (5:2-70); 2) that the division board

should have control of elementary and secondary education (5:2-74); 3) that the system of grants should encourage the development of centralized graded schools (5:3-69); 4) that a uniform levy within a division be applied to finance all elementary and secondary education (5:3-84); and, 5) that the school board have complete fiscal autonomy and have the authority to requisition municipal authorities in the division for its budget requirements (5:3-93). The brief also pointed out that the consolidation movement was cumbersome and slow and that it did not necessarily include natural geographic or demographic regions. Examples were given of the Baldur and Treherne consolidations, each of which virtually surrounded a rural district which had chosen not to enter the consolidation (5:2-17).

Of the foregoing recommendations, the fifth one did not receive unequivocal acceptance by the Commission, which considered the alternative of a Municipal Board approving an increased levy by a local government. The M.T.S. protested that such a condition would impute that division boards lacked responsibility with the taxpayers' money (14:69). The M.T.S. petitioned the Government to take immediate action to implement many of the Michener recommendations. The Government's first move was the passage of Bill 39 on April 22, 1965, which provided for the conversion of school divisions to school areas, and which would place major responsibility of elementary as well as secondary education upon the division boards (73). The new Act required that at least half of the school boards petition the government for a referendum to be

held within a division in order to determine whether the change should be made. The M.T.S. appealed to the government to amend Bill 39 in order to facilitate the transfer of the administration of elementary schools to the division boards by requiring that a referendum be held in all divisions (29:1). At the same time teacher division associations, wherever practicable, organized campaigns for the dispensation of related information to the public. In November, 1965, the M.T.S. met with representatives of M.A.S.T., the Manitoba Farmers Union, the Farm Bureau, the Federation of Labour, and the Manitoba Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation. A committee consisting of a representative from each group was formed with the purpose of making each of the organizations more aware of the problems under consideration (30:3).

Bill 39 was not amended. However, a new bill, Bill 16, received government assent on April 27, 1966 (75). Included in the Bill were provisions for the establishment of The Local Government Boundaries Commission and for the formation of single-district divisions. Once more, the legislation was entirely permissive, requiring a referendum to be held upon the receipt of a petition. The M.T.S. immediately marshalled its forces in order to strive for the implementation of the new bill. In April of 1966 the Society's president, Donald T. McKinnon, urged that "a massive campaign be undertaken to promote a referendum to be held simultaneously in the 37 school divisions where elementary and secondary education are not integrated under one board"

(31:4). The M.T.S. and the M.A.S.T. joined forces to submit their concerns to the Minister of Education. Their submission of February 4, 1966, included the following resolution:

That legislation be enacted at this session of the Legislature that will provide for a province-wide referendum within one year at which the electors in each division will be given an opportunity by majority vote to determine whether division boards shall be given responsibility for all public school education within their boundaries (79:1).

The submission expressed an urgent need for the transfer of administrative and financial responsibility for elementary education to division boards, and reminded the Government that such provisions had been in effect in Alberta since 1936 and in Saskatchewan since 1946. On April 21, 1966, the M.T.S. submitted a brief to the Standing Committee on Law Amendments, endorsing Bill 16 in preference to the previous Bill 39, stating that:

The Society believes that a single district division is the only organization capable of satisfactorily establishing and operating the diverse and complex elementary and secondary education of today. . . . that will enable the planning of an orderly, progressive and integrated educational program from kindergarten to grade twelve -- a program reflecting efficiency of administration, quality education, equality of opportunity for all children in the division, and the equalization of all educational costs across the entire division (3:4).

Through its brief the M.T.S. urged the Government to bring about this change under its own legislative powers, as was done in Alberta and in Saskatchewan, but failing this, to call for a referendum in each division because the amount of local initiative required would "only tend to delay unduly the opportunities for local electors in all areas of Manitoba to express their views on these matters" (3:7).

Miscellaneous Organizations

The Manitoba Farmers Union submitted to the Michener Commission that there was a need for change in local government with respect to school districts and municipalities, but cautioned that "any effort towards reorganization should be undertaken with the positive and responsible support of the elected representatives and taxpayers of the area" (7:14). A group of seven agricultural organizations, including the Manitoba Federation of Agriculture, urged that districts with closed schools be consolidated, and that thought be given to attempt an experiment in Manitoba with "combined administration units" such as the Alberta county (8). The Home and School and Parent Teacher Federation of Manitoba advocated also that elementary and secondary education should be under a larger unit board (9). It is noteworthy, however, to indicate that rural groups approached the subject of reorganization and change with hesitation and caution. The Home and School Federation represented urban rather than rural communities.

The Manitoba Economic Consultative Board in its 1966 annual report contended that the educational lag in rural areas has been responsible for the fact that much of Manitoba's population could not "participate fully in the fruits of a rapidly growing national economy" (43:7). Expansion in some industries during the previous two years was limited due to a lack of skilled workers. The Board's report stated that:

The development of educated human beings has thus become an important new industry and may well be the most significant industry of the future absorbing more resources and adding more to the national production than any other (43:45).

On the basis of such indicators as expenditures on education, the decrease in the number of one-room rural schools, and teachers' qualifications and salaries, the Board concluded that "the Manitoba community on the average has not kept pace with the investment being made for education throughout Canada" and that this has been particularly true of rural school systems (43:70). It found that with the exception of Prince Edward Island, by 1964 Manitoba had a higher proportion of teachers in one-room rural schools than any other province, and that the rate of reduction of one-room rural schools was also slower than in any other province except Prince Edward Island (43:74). The Board felt that the structure of local school administration supported such schools and that the recommendations of the Michener Commission were imperative (43:77). The lag in school district reorganization, and the consequent lag in meeting the requirements of advanced opportunities in education, seem to have been related to the province's lag in agricultural production per worker, which increased only nine per cent during the 1941 - 1961 period compared to an increase of 28 per cent for the nation as a whole (43:6).

The Government of Manitoba

A government represents the people. Members of the Legislature have commitments to their electors and to their party colleagues.

Therefore it is difficult to ascertain precisely what the government's assessment of school organization within the province might be.

Indeed, the government's assessment might be measured best in terms of its legislation. However, political considerations of the individual members and of parties may well confound their true assessment of the situation.

Professor Donnelly¹ was of the opinion that little progress was made -- and that it was impossible -- during the years of the coalition. Mayor C. N. Kushner expressed his opinion in this manner:

For too many years our Provincial Government with your help and my help had its head in the sand and refused to face the problem. This should have been rectified 25 years ago. . . (16:29).

In October of 1965 Premier Roblin was quoted in an editorial as saying, "We are not going to act by government decree." The editorial continues:

Few people will be inclined to disbelieve him. Municipal boundaries revision is a politically sensitive topic and it is true that little can be achieved by openly antagonizing territory-jealous local politicians. On the other hand, there is surely no need for quite so much timidity (12).

The Minister of Education expressed himself more forcefully upon addressing the trustees' convention in November, 1965:

. . . I am suggesting that a reorganization of our administration at the local level is necessary . . . today Canada is spending millions on basic up-grading programs and picking up the tragedies of the smaller schools at vast expense (33:3).

In answering his critics in the Assembly, the Minister referred to

¹See page 79.

"that great year in Manitoba's history -- 1958," in which legislation with respect to school divisions was passed (25:831). The former Minister of Education, S. E. McLean, censured the opposition party for pressing for changes in the grant structure which consequently encouraged the building of many small schools (23:683). Molgat, the leader of the opposition, equated incentive grants to compulsion and a negation of the free choice of the people (24:732). All the traditional objections to reorganization were reiterated by J. M. Froese, lone Social Credit member of the Assembly: 1) the local people would be robbed of the opportunity to decide who their teacher would be; 2) the local people would lose interest in school affairs; 3) pupils would have to suffer long bus rides, would not be with their parents at noon, and lose the benefit of a hot noon meal; 4) special local needs would not be met or be endangered, such as certain extra-curricular activities and religious exercises; and, 5) the benefit of the local district school meeting would be lost (26:846).

The Minister of Education presented the 1966 Assembly with a "white paper" in which proposals for new legislation were outlined. Those with respect to school district reorganization, discussed in some detail earlier in this chapter in relation to the activities of the teacher and trustee organizations, may be summarized as follows: 1) all school districts under official trustees (about 100) and all districts with closed schools (about 200) to be placed under the direction of division boards;

- 2) provision for the holding of a referendum in any division for the formation of a single-district school division;
- 3) facilitation of the consolidation of elementary school districts within divisions, where such is desired;
- 4) the establishment of a boundaries commission to direct planned consolidation units and planned centralization of schools;
- 5) a pilot plan for the reorganization of school administration in the Interlake area;
- 6) the provision of special grants for the operation of school divisions or school areas in which school boards have centralized fiscal and policy control; and,
- 7) the control of the construction of school accommodation pending a decision upon the question of centralized fiscal authority in any division (41:1-6).

The Government has proceeded with concerted effort to carry out the proposals outlined by the Minister. Roblin's administration was re-elected in June of 1966, and the same Minister of Education, the Hon. Dr. G. Johnson, presented another "white paper" to the Assembly on January 20, 1967, in which he outlined the means of financing single-district divisions. The Government's position, as expressed in part in the Minister's presentation, was made quite clear:

Every effort will be expended to encourage the electors to vote for the creation of Single District Divisions. This encouragement will include the offer to extend to existing and new Single District Divisions, retroactive to January 1st, 1967, the proposed enriched

Foundation Program and the revised tax system. This plan is designed to finance an improved and improving standard of education in the Single District Divisions at diminished proportional cost to the real property taxpayer.

The government does not propose, however, to offer increased financial incentives to the maintenance of Multi-District Divisions, because such divisions are not considered capable of achieving the primary educational goals of improved standards and equalization of opportunity. Where the electors choose, therefore, to retain Multi-District Divisions the present system of grants will be retained. No new incentives will be offered.

Summary and Discussion

The conclusion that may be drawn from an analysis of the assessment of school district organization by various observers is that for more than half a century the pattern of local school government prevalent in rural Manitoba has failed to provide adequately the composite educational needs of the people. Since the beginning of the century inspectors of schools have pointed out the need for larger and more adequate administrative units. Every commission has stressed the same fact. Though permissive legislation for reorganization was passed from time to time, rural people were not moved to initiate change. Only in the last decade have school trustee organizations seriously undertaken to work for change, and this has been due mainly to the initiative of urban boards. Also, in the last fifteen years the voice of the Manitoba Teachers' Society has become powerful, influential, and respected by parties concerned with the development of education in the province. Provincial bodies concerned with the economic development of Manitoba recently have stressed the need for

increased investment in education and the necessity of developing an organizational structure which can better serve contemporary goals in education. Though the government of the province has seldom pioneered a creative venture in school administrative reorganization, it has of recent years given evidence of providing vigorous, though cautious, leadership in developing the proposals of educators and commissions.

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CHAPTER V

LEGISLATION AND RURAL SCHOOL DISTRICT REORGANIZATION

I. INTRODUCTION

The trend towards larger units of school administration was indicated in some detail in Chapter II. The extent to which such reorganization has been accomplished varies from state to state and from province to province. The social, political, and economic context within which the development of administrative units occurred in Manitoba was illustrated in Chapter III. No other province experienced more severe racial and political conflict in relation to its educational system. Ever since 1916, when the bilingual provisions were struck from the Public Schools Act, the government appears to have been reluctant to pass any significant school legislation of a mandatory nature. Even the pressure of economic change was insufficient to move any government to act decisively with current problems. For sixty years, as was shown in Chapter IV, officials of the Department of Education including inspectors of schools, various commissions and teachers have repeatedly pointed out the inadequacy of the small rural district to provide a satisfactory educational program. Since the 1930's the government appears to have moved from a position of being disinterested in education, to one of an awakening interest but ineffective action, and more recently to one of forceful though cautious leadership. This conversion of government attitude at last, though

belatedly, provided secondary education for all rural students, long after this had been an accomplished fact in the western provinces. Unlike the western provinces, all of Manitoba's rural elementary schools to this day are under the control of about a thousand local boards.¹

Legislation with respect to school district reorganization was written from time to time. The nature of this legislation and its apparent effect upon district reorganization is examined in this chapter. The financing of education is an intrinsic part of legislation. Though no detailed discussion of school financing is undertaken, its probable effect upon reorganization is indicated.

II. LEGISLATION AND DISTRICT REORGANIZATION

Authority in education is vested in the province by virtue of section 93 of the B.N.A. Act. The province finds it expedient to create local administrative units in order to carry out its policies. The following references, though taken from American sources, appear to apply very well to any Canadian province. Garber and Edwards stressed the sovereignty of the state with respect to the creation and alteration of school districts and the methods by which this might be accomplished:

The state, acting through the legislature, may create whatever type of local school administrative organization it may desire. . . .

¹Following the organization of at least 19 more single-district divisions before the end of 1967, this number will be reduced by about half.

The state is unrestricted in its choice of method of establishing school districts. It may establish by direct legislative enactment, it may delegate its authority to establish districts to some administrative board or official, or it may make the creation of a district contingent upon the consent of the inhabitants affected. Since education is essentially a matter of state concern, school districts may be created with or without consent of those who live in them (11:3).

. . . the legislature, in addition to creating school districts, may abolish them, or alter their boundaries as public policy may dictate. When district boundaries are changed, the legislature may dispose of property and of pre-existing assets and liabilities in such manner as may be deemed reasonable and just (11:5).

Mort and Ross, in discussing the "warp of administrative responsibility," agreed entirely with Garber and Edwards. They wrote:

Obviously the school district as a structural unit is a creature of the state, not of the community. Local initiative does not begin until the structure is established. Local initiative exists only within the structure. The power to change school districts is therefore fundamentally a power of the creating agent, not a matter of local initiative (20:273).

However, the initiation of change in school district organization may be delegated to local authorities or to the local electorate by statutory provisions. The authors pointed out the possible dysfunctions of such provisions:

. . . if districts are too small or too large to have the potential to perform a wide variety of educational tasks without unreasonable strain and effort, the amount of real service to democracy in leaving redistricting to local option can be seriously challenged. External domination, by men or circumstances, can be invoked at this point by a misapplication of democracy (20:273).

. . . The slow elimination of inadequate districts in the past can be laid in no small degree to this failure to see that the district is a creature of the state and that the power to change is by its nature a central function (20:274).

In their study of school district reorganization, the American Association

of School Administrators claimed that:

Usually the failure of school district reorganization can be ascribed to one or two vulnerable spots in the law, and more often than not the most vulnerable spots are not with respect to finance (1:209).

With respect to the financing of schools, Chisholm found that the program of state and local support has had a close relation to school district reorganization, and that progress made in school district reorganization has tended to be greatest in states in which state aid has been highest (4:34).

As early as 1886 certain principles were formulated in the Manitoba Legislature which were to be applied in establishing the provisions for school district formation. The first stated that the whole province, interested in the education of all the children, should bear part of the cost. The second acknowledged the necessity of provincial authorities providing for education in sparsely settled parts of the province even at a large cost per capita. The third principle rather precisely described the philosophy held by the Legislature ever since, and is strongly held by some members of the Legislature even today. It stated:

. . . that in accordance with the spirit of free institutions, the extent to which the provisions made for establishing schools shall be taken advantage of is left to the people to decide. . . and the limit of the burden they are willing to bear for the support of their schools when established is likewise determined through the trustees chosen by them at their annual meetings (14:9).

Though the province, by law, has the right to establish school administrative units as it deems necessary, in practice it has largely been

delegating such responsibility to local authorities.

D. S. Woods,¹ Dean Emeritus of Education, University of Manitoba, wrote in 1938:

The conditions pertaining to frontier settlement . . . made it almost imperative to grant to communities a large measure of local control in education . . . By the Schools Act of 1873 the school district was definitely established as the unit of local control, and had clearly defined powers delegated to it . . .

Education being a provincial responsibility, and its benefits of more than local significance, it must ever be borne in mind that the duties assigned to the local school district were delegated by provincial statute, and that the right to establish or disestablish has always been vested in the provincial government. The school district, therefore, is but a quasi-corporation performing delegated duties which may be allocated to another authority as conditions warrant. No inherent right has been vested in the school district to continue as such for all time (26:13).

Restatement of the Sub-problem

The problem of this thesis was to examine certain factors related to the progress of school district reorganization in rural Manitoba. The first sub-problem was to examine the Manitoba school legislation pertaining to

- a) school district reorganization procedures, and
- b) school financing,

and its relationship to school district reorganization.

This has involved the examination of the provisions in the Manitoba school legislation with respect to:

- 1) the planning of school district reorganization;
- 2) the implementation of school district reorganization;

¹Dean Woods died in August, 1966.

- 3) the disestablishment of school districts which i) no longer operate schools, or ii) operate schools with very low enrolments;
- 4) the centralization of rural elementary schools within administrative units; and,
- 5) the sharing of services of one school administrative unit with another.

Reorganization practices have been reviewed to illustrate the operation of the legislation and the extent to which it has been effective.

III. ANALYSIS OF LEGISLATION AND RELATED DISTRICT REORGANIZATION PRACTICE

Introduction

In this part of the chapter the various aspects of the first sub-problem are examined.

Source of data. The current legislation with respect to school district reorganization was found in The Public Schools Act. The Statutes of Manitoba provided the source for earlier legislation as it pertained to the problem. The Annual Reports of the Department of Education, files of the Department of Education, and questionnaire returns from inspectors of schools and school division secretary-treasurers provided additional data. For comparative purposes information was obtained from other provincial departments of education.

Procedure for analysis. The five selected aspects with respect to legislation and district reorganization, planning, implementation,

disestablishments, centralization, and sharing of services, are each examined in turn according to the following outline:

- 1) selected criteria to assist with the evaluation of the legislation;
- 2) comparative references in relation to the United States and to other provinces;
- 3) Manitoba's legislation - its application and apparent consequences;
- 4) conclusion.

The Planning of School District Reorganization

Evaluative criteria. Fitzwater and Roesch stressed that "the basic purpose of State regulations, policies, and recommendations regarding soundly organized school districts is to make it possible for local people to provide good schools for their children" (10:17). In survey studies of district reorganization a number of factors in the legislative provisions related to good school district reorganization programs have been identified. Some of these are:

- 1) a provincial commission for the administration of the reorganization program on a province-wide basis;
- 2) regional or local committees for the planning of reorganization on a regional or local basis;
- 3) the provision of professional personnel by the provincial department of education to assist regional committees;
- 4) statutory provision for the participation of a maximum number of

people (1:202; 9:11,36,38; 19:222; 37:13).

Comparative references. Fitzwater studied sixteen state programs of school district reorganization. Local planning agencies were active in each of the states. In twelve of the states the state administrative agency developed principles, policies, and procedures for conducting reorganization programs. Twelve of the states furnished professional assistance to local agencies. In all but one of the sixteen states, the reorganization plans developed by the local agency had to be submitted to the state administrative agency for review (9:34). Local people were also involved through public hearings and unofficial citizens committees (9:75). Fitzwater stressed that unsolved redistricting problems were always present and that these justified the "continuance of a reorganization program" (9:82).

By and large the Canadian provinces have not had commissions or agencies which were specifically directed to plan school district reorganization. This does not mean that there has not been planning. Officials of departments of education have been involved in such planning, and the result of such planning has found its way into the legislation. It may also be said that the investigation of problems and the recommendation of solutions, which involves planning, has frequently been delegated by governments to Royal Commissions and other committees. An illustration of this is found in Table XII, page 174. It has been customary for commissions to hold public hearings and to receive briefs, and in this manner direct or indirect participation of the people was

TABLE XII
EDUCATIONAL PLANNING IN THE PROVINCES^a

Province	Commission or Agency and Year		Recommendations
B.C.	Putman-Weir Survey	1925	Consolidations
	Cameron Commission	1945	Larger districts
	Chant Commission	1960	Review boundaries; Merge smaller districts
Alta.	Legislative Committee Survey	1934	To study problems
	Coterminous Boundary Commission	1954	Coterminous division-municipal boundaries
Sask.	Saskatchewan Education Committee	1915	Consolidations
	Foght Report	1918	Larger units
	R.C. on Agric. & Rural Life	1956	Improved larger unit
Man.	Commission on Status and Salaries of Teachers	1919	Municipal sch. district
	Educational Commission	1924	Municipal sch. district
	Special Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly	1945	School area
	MacFarlane Commission	1958	School division; Boundaries Commission
	Michener Commission	1964	Division control of elem. schools; Boundaries planning officer
Ont.	Hope Commission	1950	More adequate units; Local consultative committees
Que.	Parent Commission	1961	Region boards; Provincial Planning Committee for Educational Development; Regional School Planning Committee
N.B.	Commission on Education	1931	County Finance Unit
	Royal Commission on Financing of Schools in New Brunswick	1955	County unit as school board
	Byrne Commission	1964	Few districts
N.S.	Royal Commission on Public School Finance	1954	Municipal unit
P.E.I.	Royal Commission	1910	Consolidations
	P.E.I. Advisory Reconstruction Committee	1945	30 Regions
	Commissioner on Educational Finance & Related Problems	1960	Large unit area
Nfd.	Royal Commission	1966	(report to be made)

^a Compiled from Chapter II, and various Reports.

provided for. Quebec appears to have provided more specifically for the planning function. It created the Provincial Planning Committee for Educational Development and provided for the establishment of local advisory committees to regional school boards. The purpose was that "the regional plans be coordinated between themselves in an overall perspective" (27:26). Local planning consisted primarily of making an inventory of present facilities, studying the pupil population, evaluating the needs, determining the location of schools in the regional territory, and, developing the building program for required new schools (27:27).

Table XIII, page 176, indicates the extent to which provinces have established planning commissions or agencies. The lack of such provisions in British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan may be explained by the fact that major reorganization is an accomplished fact and also that such reorganization was accomplished largely by executive action of the provincial government. In such cases, as also currently in New Brunswick, planning is largely carried out through the department of education. In provinces such as Manitoba, Quebec and Prince Edward Island, where reorganization is largely decided by a local vote, provisions for planning are quite essential. In Manitoba such provision was made just prior to the introduction of School Divisions, and again, in 1966, in anticipation of large-scale reorganization of rural elementary districts.

From a provincial point of view, planning with respect to district

TABLE XIII

LEGISLATIVE PROVISION FOR DISTRICT REORGANIZATION PLANNING IN CANADA^a

Planning Provision	B.C.	Alta.	Sask.	Man.	Ont.	Que.	N.B.	N.S.	P.E.I.	Nfd.
Provincial agency for province-wide planning	No	No	No	Yes ^b	No	Yes ^c	No	No	Yes ^d	No
Regional or local planning committees	No	No	No	No	Yes ^e	Yes ^f	No	No	No	No
Professional personnel ^g to assist local planning	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	--	Yes	Yes	Yes
Directions or guidelines for local planning	No	No	Yes	No	Yes ^h	Yes ⁱ	No	No	No	No

^aCompiled from questionnaire returns from provincial departments of education, 1965.
See Appendix F.

^bLocal Government Boundaries Commission.

^cProvincial Planning Committee for Educational Development.

^dBoundaries Commission.

^ePublic School Consultative Committees.

^fRegional Committee.

^gGenerally inspectors or superintendents of schools.

^hMinister's general statement.

ⁱDepartmental publication.

reorganization never should cease because conditions change constantly and require local adaptations. Though British Columbia has relatively large school districts, it has been considering the amalgamation of some of these contiguous districts. In Saskatchewan there has been some interest with respect to the consolidation of districts within the larger school units. Ontario has made provision for the establishment of units of larger scope, the county school area and the district school area. Quebec and Manitoba are planning for regional post-secondary institutes; in Manitoba such a region would include a number of school divisions. New Brunswick has completed plans for a drastic reduction in its number of school units. The need for centralization of denominational schools has been of concern to Newfoundland.

Manitoba's legislation - its implementation and consequences.

In a thesis completed in 1943, Inspector Andrew Moore recommended:

. . . that the Department of Education in Manitoba consider the advisability of appointing a public relations official with sufficient machinery and staff to make his work effective (18:393).

The function of this officer was to be that of helping the Department be more effective with respect to local authorities and the latter to utilize more effectively the services of the Department. The closest approach to this was made in 1965 when an official was appointed with specific assignment to direct his attention to reorganization problems of local school districts. This was in accordance with a proposal of the Michener Commission contained in its 1964 report that:

. . . the Department of Education consider the appointment of a

full-time officer to survey existing rural school locations and facilities with a view to planning and proposing desirable consolidations to the school boards concerned and to the Minister (33:58).

Moore had recommended that:

. . . a consultative committee be established as part of the inside service of the Department whose principal duties will be a) to work out in consultation with competent representatives of each local authority a comprehensive two-year, five-year, or even ten-year plan of education for the local area concerned . . . (18:394).

This recommendation, made more than twenty years ago, appears to be in the spirit of planning arrangements of Quebec today. Nothing quite like this has been proposed for Manitoba. In keeping with his time, but more in the spirit of Quebec education today, Moore recommended that:

. . . in connection with the local and provincial convention of school trustees, the Department of Education and/or the Executive of the M.S.T.A. take the lead in providing stimulating and informative short courses in school administration and also encourage trustees to form discussion groups and study circles on school affairs in their respective home communities (18:407).

Moore was painfully aware of the inadequacy of the performance of local school administrative units and for the need of stimulating people into taking long-range views and participating in educational planning.

In its Interim Report the MacFarlane Commission recommended the establishment of school divisions, outlined in detail what the nature of the school divisions should be, and proposed the criteria that should guide a Boundary Commission in the planning of the school division system (13:55-61). The recommendations and proposals of the MacFarlane Commission were written into The Public Schools Act with little or no modification. The first provincial body which was created for the

purpose of planning systematic school district reorganization throughout the province was The School Divisions Boundaries Commission, established in 1958 by section 488 of the Act. The Commission had no control over the merging of rural school districts, but it had authority to decide into which school division any one school district was to be placed. Section 491 of the Act set forth the general duties of the Commission:

Forthwith on its appointment the commission shall, subject as herein provided, make all such inquiries and take all such measures as are necessary

(a) to enable it to recommend to the government the territory to be included in, and boundaries of, the divisions to be established under Part XIX;¹ and

(b) to permit of Part XIX being successfully put into effect and the due implementation of the provisions thereof;

and, for those purposes, it shall, in so far as it deems it practicable, be guided by the recommendations in Interim Report to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor submitted by the Royal Commission on Education appointed under Order-in-Council No. 841/57, with respect to the number, size, assessment, population, pupil population, and communications, of the proposed divisions and the social and religious customs of the persons resident therein; but nothing in this section prevents the commission from making recommendations not in accord with the principles set out in that Interim Report. En. S.M., 1958, 2nd Sess., c. 7. (30:s. 491).

The Commission consisted of six persons appointed by order of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. It was empowered to obtain the aid of assistants and technical advisors. It was instructed to prepare a provisional plan for each proposed school division; this included the establishment of division boundaries, division wards, and the

¹Part XIX has the title School Divisions.

recommendation that any operating junior high schools continue under their present boards. It could declare certain schools as "remote" and as such they would not be included in any proposed division. Public hearings were to be held at which representations could be made to the Commission. Finally, the Commission was instructed to submit its report to the Minister (30:ss. 491, 493, 494).

A majority of the resident votes was required for the establishment of a school division. Following the establishment of a division, the Commission was charged with the responsibility of adjusting rights and claims with respect to school district properties, and of choosing suitable building sites for secondary schools if it were requested to do so. The Act provided that:

The board of a division or the minister may refer to the commission for consideration and report any matter pertaining to the establishment and operations of a division . . . (30:s. 496).

Awards made by the Commission might be confirmed by the Minister, and thus would be binding on all persons affected, subject to appeal where the boundaries of a school district might be affected.

The Commission was created for the purpose of planning school administrative units which would provide the opportunity of attending a high school to every child in the province. The decision to accept such a unit remained that of the local electorate. As was detailed in Chapter IV, all of rural Manitoba was organized under the division plan by January 1, 1966. Most of the rural divisions, 31 out of 35, were formed in 1959. Not in one of them has any attempt been made to

petition for disestablishment. It may well be assumed that this is in part the consequence of adequate planning, the major exercise of the Commission.

The School Divisions Boundaries Commissions, under the chairmanship of the Hon. Mr. Justice A. M. Monnin, submitted its report to the Minister of Education on January 13, 1959. The Commission, divided into two subcommittees, held a total of 92 public hearings in the province. At each hearing it exhibited a map for the proposed division, and discussed pertinent items such as size, assessment, population, pupil population, communications, wards, social customs, and the name of the proposed division. It considered briefs and submissions by any of the electorate. It entertained appeals from proposed divisions, and made adjustments wherever such were possible within its terms of reference. Following the establishment of divisions,¹ the Commission met several times to assist division and district boards in making appraisals and settlements with respect to local equities, and to arbitrate wherever such was necessary. Some additional school districts were declared as "remote" and added to a list of about 40 already so declared (34).

The Commission worked out its plan with regard to certain principles laid down by the MacFarlane Commission. These called for divisions which would have a minimum of 80 to 100 teachers and a minimum of \$5,000,000 balanced assessment. Social and religious factors

¹Only four proposals were turned down by the electorate.

were to be considered. The rights and privileges of racial and religious minorities were to be guaranteed more specifically by the retention of local districts for elementary schools (13:44-6).

Figure 4, page 183, illustrates the outcome of the Commission's deliberations. The boundaries are essentially as they were in 1959. Divisions Stanley and Rhineland were subsequently divided into three, Western No. 47, Garden Valley No. 26, and Rhineland No. 18, and as such each entered the division plan upon voting on a referendum. Boundary No. 16 first accepted the plan after another vote in December, 1965. Frontier No. 48, including most of the northern "remote" schools, was established by the Minister following the passing of a separate Act in April, 1965 (35). About four townships of Pembina Valley Division No. 27 were transferred to Tiger Hills Division No. 29 in order to separate the villages of Pilot Mound and Crystal City, only about eight miles apart, because the communities would not agree on the location of the new high school.

The balanced assessment of divisions, at the time of establishment, ranged from less than \$6,000,000 for Turtle River No. 32 to more than \$18,000,000 for Rolling River No. 39. Divisions containing larger urban centers typically had higher assessments; Division No. 40, for example, was assessed at more than \$34,000,000. The total teacher count ranged from 68 for Souris Valley No. 42 to 133 for Swan Valley No. 35. School divisions with larger urban centers had higher teacher counts; Brandon Division had 162. The number of school districts in

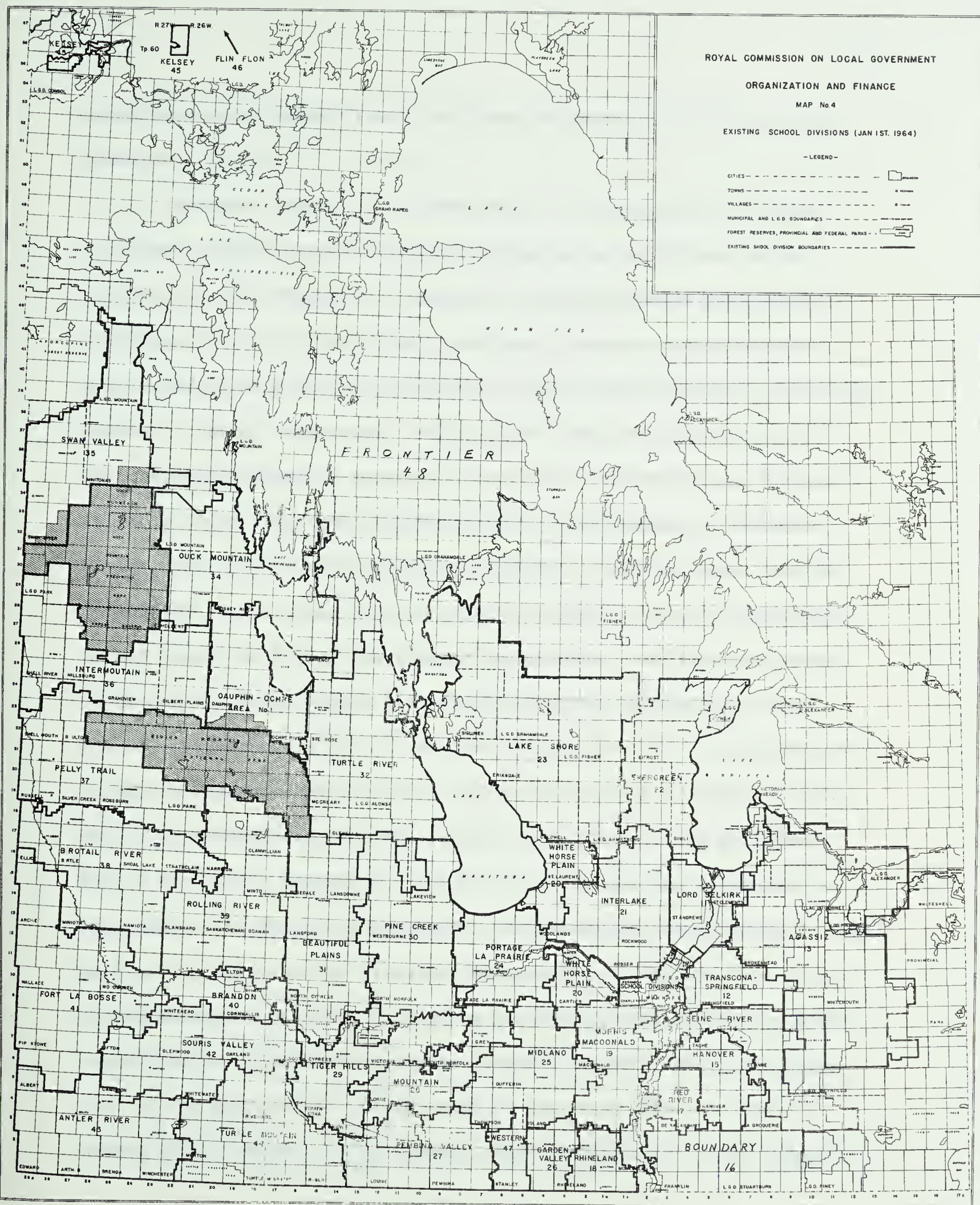


FIGURE 4
MANITOBA SCHOOL DIVISIONS

rural divisions ranged from 25 in Tiger Hills No. 29 to 104 in Lakeshore No. 23.

The pains taken by the Commission to accommodate the French and Roman Catholic settlements for inclusion in divisions can be illustrated from Figure 4. Though the Red River would be a natural boundary, it cuts right through such small divisions as Red River No. 17 and Seine River No. 14, both of which contain almost exclusively people of French background. White Horse Plain No. 20 consists of two completely separate parcels of territory, joined as one division in order to meet minimum requirements for establishment. Mountain Division No. 28 has most irregular boundaries cutting across several municipalities in order to join together school districts containing mostly people of French and Belgian background. Smaller settlements of French are found within the school divisions of Birdtail River No. 38, Intermountain No. 36 and Turtle River No. 32. Hanover No. 15 is mainly Mennonite by virtue of being surrounded by divisions carved out to accommodate the French. Garden Valley No. 26 and Rhineland No. 18 are mainly Mennonite, however if an attempt had been made to accommodate the Mennonite settlement the boundaries should have included much of the territory of divisions Western No. 47, Midland No. 25 and Morris Macdonald No. 19. In carving out French territories the additional factor of Catholic religion appears to have been a consideration of the Commission. Though some of the other divisions have a strong ethnic nature -- for example, Duck Mountain No. 34 is largely

Ukrainian -- there seems to have been no deliberate effort on the part of the Commission to establish their boundaries on the basis of ethnic groups.

The legislation of 1966 called for the establishment of The Local Government Boundaries Commission. By-laws of municipal councils, and awards by boards of arbitration, school inspectors or the Board of Reference with respect to the forming or enlarging of consolidated school districts are to be referred to the Commission for consideration before ministerial approval. The Commission is to advise the Minister with respect to the boundaries of consolidated school districts and of school divisions, and with respect to school sites. Public hearings are to be held as may be required (30:s. 313B). Though the terms of the Act seem to suggest that the Commission is largely an agency of control, essentially its recommendations must be based on a province-wide context, and hence its true function may very well be that of planning. The consequences of such a Commission may be known within as short a period as one year. If it is possible to make a prediction based on the successful operation of the School Divisions Boundaries Commission, the newly created Commission should enable progressive district reorganization to take place. Whereas the former commission was restricted to division boundaries, the latter may direct its attention to every form of redistricting problem.¹

¹On February 14, 1967, the Minister announced to the House that the Commission had recommended that the divisions in the interlake area

Unlike the new educational legislation in Quebec, Manitoba legislation has not provided for the establishment of regional or local planning committees. This does not mean that there has been no local planning. School boards, groups of school boards, and committees of citizens may have engaged in considerable planning. However, the extent of such planning depended entirely upon the initiative prevalent in any one locality. It was not directed or aided by any particular prepared guidelines or program. Hence, there has been no coordinated local planning that formed part of the total provincial mosaic. Professional personnel -- inspectors of schools and other departmental officials -- have been available upon call to any school board or group of citizens. For example, prior to the school divisions vote in 1959, such personnel attended no less than 714 meetings and helped to clarify the issues for more than 49,000 electors who attended (22:21). Since then an equal effort has been made by a taxed and dedicated staff of civil servants in answering the calls of school trustees and citizens in order to communicate the implications of new legislative provisions. It might be said, therefore, that the statutory provisions requiring the holding of public hearings with respect to redistricting issues do in fact ensure the

(Lord Selkirk, White Horse Plains, Interlake, Evergreen, and Lakeshore) be declared single-district divisions according to the provisions of the Act. The Minister stated that this would be accomplished by Order-in-Council (15:1060).

participation of a maximum number of people. Furthermore, as no major changes are made without the approval of the people on a local referendum, the participation of every voter is thereby invited. However, the real planning appears to be highly centralized, and these plans may be modified as a result of the reaction of school boards and ratepayers.

The legislation provides for the financing of commissions and the expenses of personnel involved in local consultations. The expenses of school trustees are covered for activities associated with school board meetings. As there is no legislation that requires the establishment of local planning committees, there is no parallel provision for the financing of the activities of such agencies.

Similar questionnaires were sent to the inspectors of schools and to secretary-treasurers of 35 school divisions in March, 1965.¹ All of the 35 divisions contain most of the rural school territory of the province. Excluded from the questionnaire study were ten divisions of metropolitan Winnipeg and the northern divisions of Frontier, Kelsey and Flin Flon. Returns were received from 28 inspectors and 26 secretary-treasurers. A return was received from each of the 35 divisions from either the inspector or the division secretary-treasurer, and for 18 divisions a return was received from each. The returns indicated that activities perceived as planning were taking place at the local level. Table XIV, page 188, illustrates some of the

¹See Appendixes A & C.

TABLE XIV

PLANNING REORGANIZATION WITHIN SCHOOL DIVISIONS^a

Object of Planning	Number of Times Indicated by		
	Inspector (N=28)	Sec.-Treas. (N=26)	Both within same Division (N=18)
Municipal school district	1	1	0
Consolidation of school districts	22	22	13
Dissolution of school districts	21	16	11
Centralization of schools within a district	4	3	0
Sharing of services between districts ^b	5	5	2

^aSource: Questionnaire returns from 28 inspectors and 26 secretary-treasurers from 35 divisions.

^bExcept for Dauphin-Ochre School Area these were division-district transportation arrangements only.

objects towards which local planning was directed since 1959. The consolidation of school districts and the dissolution of other school districts were the major objects of planning. In only seven divisions was mention made of the centralization of schools. However, apart from division boards, very few district boards operate more than one school. Table XV, page 190, illustrates the source of the impetus for planning. Inspectors and secretary-treasurers gave credit to both, local electors and district boards. Division boards had not become involved. Municipal councils have been relatively inactive. Nineteen of 28 inspectors credited inspectors of schools as the initiating agents, though only three division secretary-treasurers perceived of this as being the case. It may be safely assumed that the inspectors knew what they had accomplished, and that the activity of district boards and of the electors may well have been due to the discreet provocation and stimulation provided by the inspectors. In 16 out of 18 divisions, inspector and secretary-treasurer agreed that planning had resulted in action. The following statements from questionnaire returns illustrate the difficulty frequently surrounding attempts at planning local reorganization. An inspector writes:

Inspector has initiated a number of planning and study meetings, mainly well attended, and some individuals were genuinely interested, however, the majority support for change could not be won. Influential individuals due to self interest would not support change.¹

¹Quoted from Questionnaire returns.

TABLE XV
INITIATION OF REORGANIZATION PLANS^a

Source of Initiation	Number of Times Indicated by		
	Inspectors (N=28)	Secretary-Treasurers (N=26)	Both within same Division (N=18)
Electors (petition)	22	13	10
District school board	16	17	6
Division school board	2	2	0
Municipal council	3	2	1
Inspector	19	3	1
L.G.I.C.	0	1	0
Planning resulting in some action	21	20	16

^aSource: Questionnaire returns from 28 inspectors and 26 secretary-treasurers from 35 divisions.

A secretary-treasurer comments:

Reluctance on part of small districts to lose any or part of their schools. No attempt made by trustees to educate electorate as to advantages both in education and financial.¹

Conclusion. Events seem to indicate that where legislative provision is made for planning, it is more likely to occur, and it is more likely to proceed as an over-all coordinated effort, and to result in actual implementation. This has been the experience in certain American states. This has been the on-going experience in the province of Quebec today. The establishment of a commission to work out a plan for school division units in Manitoba preceded a large-scale province-wide reorganization, such as had not been witnessed before in the province. The establishment of another boundary commission having a wider frame of reference is likely to result in the kind of planning that will effect rural school district reorganization. All planning in the province is highly centralized. There is no legislative provision for official local planning agencies. The local electorate is involved to the extent of helping "provincial planners" make up their own minds through the channels of public hearings, and finally in accepting or rejecting the provincial plan as it is applied to the locality.

The Implementation of School District Reorganization

It is hardly possible to separate precisely the areas of planning

¹Quoted from Questionnaire returns.

and of implementation with respect to reorganization. Good planning is more than likely to result in implementation. Nevertheless, the mechanics of implementation must be adequate or the realization of reorganization may be impeded.

Evaluative criteria. A number of factors have been identified in legislation which facilitate the implementation of district reorganization. Some of these are:

- 1) a mandatory referendum on proposed new districts;
- 2) provision for a local petition to initiate reorganization;
- 3) the approval of a local plan by a provincial committee before its submission to the electorate;
- 4) specified kinds of districts that may be established;
- 5) continued operation of elementary schools in local districts included in a reorganized unit until the closing of such are authorized by the residents;
- 6) an adequate program of school financing with respect to:
 - a) equalized assessment within a reorganized unit;
 - b) provincial aid for bonded indebtedness of districts;
 - c) general grant provisions for capital outlay, transportation costs, and specialized services;
 - d) special grant provisions for reorganized districts;
 - e) provision for aid to necessary small schools (1:195,202,239-45; 6:125; 9:30-46; 84-100; 19:222-23; 36:4,14).

Comparative references. The foregoing criteria have been derived entirely from American sources and have been articulated as a result of American experiences with reorganization procedures. Fitzwater found that considerable care had usually been taken to avoid arbitrary action (9:81). The final decision was generally left to the people, but most laws specified that a referendum had to be held within a relatively short time after the reorganization plans had been approved by a state agency (9:43). In only nine of the 16 states surveyed did he find that state approval of local plans was required by law. It was found most desirable to legislate provisions for the prevention of inadequate proposals being brought to a vote. In some of the states most of the reorganized districts had been brought about as a result of local petitions. With respect to financing Fitzwater concluded that:

. . . there was abundant evidence of the interdependence of sound school financing and sound school district organization. A sound finance plan facilitates establishment of adequate districts. And adequate districts make possible effective and economical use of school funds in terms of good educational programs, which is the purpose both of school finance and of school districts (9:101).

Table V, page 52, summarizes the procedure for the implementation of major reorganization programs in the provinces. In many of the provinces, including the three western provinces, the organization of larger administrative units was accomplished by legislative decree. It may be possible to assess the adequacy of the reorganization programs of such provinces, but that is hardly related to a discussion of

legislation which facilitates reorganization, for indeed, reorganization in such provinces is directed rather than merely facilitated. In provinces where the practice is to delegate the final decision to the local electorate, good legislation which is more likely to secure a positive vote is of singular importance.

The trend in implementing major school district reorganization in Canada seems to be away from giving the electorate the direct choice. According to Table XVI, page 195, only Manitoba, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island have required referenda in order to achieve major reorganization. More recent developments have indicated that major changes in New Brunswick are occurring also by government decree. Petitions have been a significant avenue for change in Manitoba, and have been entertained for consolidations of districts within larger units in Saskatchewan. In Quebec decisions have been made by local school boards as to whether or not their school municipalities would become part of a region. In Ontario school boards, rather than the electorate, will likely be making major decisions with respect to forming county school areas.

If a reorganized unit is established by the government, the latter must also work out an adequate system of financial support. If the unit is to be chosen by school boards or by the electorate, establishment and incentive grants appear to be very important. Such are evidently significant in Manitoba and Quebec. Special grants for remote and necessary small schools can eliminate fear for their inclusion

TABLE XVI

LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF DISTRICT REORGANIZATION IN CANADA^a

Provision	B.C.	Alta.	Sask.	Man.	Ont.	Que.	N.B.	N.S.	P.E.I.	Nfd.
Referendum necessary	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Referendum mandatory	No	No	No	No ^b	No	No	No	No	No	No
Local Petition	--	--	Yes	Yes	--	--	--	--	Yes	--
Establishment grant for reorganized unit	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Incentive grants for reorganized units	No	--	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	--	No	No	Yes
Isolation grants for remote schools	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes

^aCompiled from questionnaire returns from provincial departments of education, 1965.

^bThe referendum with respect to school division formation was mandatory.

in reorganized districts. All of the provinces indicated that their grant structure encouraged the formation of larger school districts. In British Columbia and Manitoba there seemed to have been no incentive for smaller districts to join larger units. In Quebec, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland grant structures were reported as having encouraged the consolidation of districts, yet in Prince Edward Island there has been no overwhelming evidence of such results. In most provinces the newly organized unit assumed the assets and liabilities of the former districts. In Nova Scotia these have been assumed by the municipal council, and in Newfoundland their disposition is decided by the denominational superintendent.

The returns from the departments of education indicated that reorganization has been largely a matter of local choice in Manitoba and Prince Edward Island, and a concern of the department with some local involvement in Quebec. In Saskatchewan local choice has been restricted mainly to consolidations within larger units, and in Alberta to the formation of a county -- where "choice" has been largely that exercised by a division school board and/or a municipal council. In British Columbia and New Brunswick the prerogative of initiating reorganization has been that of the cabinet or of the government.

Wynn underlined the disadvantages of leaving reorganization to local option. He pointed out that people are slow to recognize the need for such change. They are reluctant to abandon local autonomy,

and have concerns with respect to pupil transportation and increased costs, and also fear the loss of community identity. Wynn suggested that:

The solution calls for enough mandate to secure forthright and responsible action but sufficient permissiveness to insure sound adaptation of reorganization plans to meet the unique expectations and resources of the people (40:15).

The Local Government Continuing Committee of Saskatchewan recommended that reorganization not be implemented by plebiscite, but by the means of "democratic legislation," and giving the people an opportunity to vote according to their preference after a period of five years (16:106). A. B. Douglas, an executive officer of the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association in 1961, said at that time:

. . . The local option type of vote could result in a more confused system of local government than we have now. . . . the most important argument against a plebiscite is that the provincial government is responsible for the creation of local governments in the first place and is also responsible for keeping them abreast of changing times. A negative result from a plebiscite would not relieve the government of this responsibility (7:25).

English defended the action of the British Columbia government in implementing reorganization without a referendum. He held that local initiative would not have implemented larger districts for many years and maintained that action had to come from central government even as it had in Alberta and Saskatchewan (8:27). In his thesis of 1943, Moore favored central action for Manitoba. He recommended that:

. . . the present permissive legislation in The Public Schools Act authorizing the formation and operation of rural municipal school districts be made mandatory, and that a proviso be added authorizing the erection of larger units for school administration on

any other basis agreed upon between the central authorities and the local authorities concerned subject to approval by a two-thirds vote of the electors concerned (18:411).

Manitoba legislation - its implementation and consequences.

It is apparent from the foregoing discussion that the nature of the ultimate implementation of district reorganization in Manitoba seems to have been more closely related to that of many American states than to that of most provinces. Consequently, the criteria chosen for consideration may well apply in an examination of the province's legislation.

An examination of the Public Schools Act as it was written in 1940 indicates that it has been essentially unchanged since then with the exception of legislation with respect to the school area and the school division. More significant amendments were added in 1966. Whatever changes have occurred over the years, were amendments directed to the details of school district operation but not changes in basic structure or principle. The same is found to be so by examining the Act as it was written in 1930. Much of the written text is almost identical to what it is today. Going back to the Act as it was written in 1924, the text can no longer be identified as being the same; a complete revision has occurred since 1924. However, the basic content and intent of the Act as it is recorded in 1924 can be identified as being intimately related to that of the Act as it is found in the office consolidation of 1960 (29). Alterations in the legislation over the years have been amendments directed to the expediency of departmental

and school district operation. This inference is corroborated by a statement of the Michener Commission.¹

It is not necessary to examine the mechanics of the legislation in detail. There is no quarrel with the precision of the meaning and comprehensiveness of the sections of the Act with respect to school districting. Procedures for any kind of permitted action are outlined clearly. This may account for the fact that there has been little litigation in the courts, most of which has been related to the wishes and claims of individuals and districts rather than to a failure of procedural adequacy (5).

In attempting to determine what effect the legislation has had upon the implementation of reorganization, reference to the Act as it was written in the Revised Statutes of Manitoba for 1954 and subsequent amendments may be considered appropriate in referring to districting conditions over several decades. It was borne out in Chapter IV that consolidations came to a halt, that municipal school districts were not widely accepted, and that only one school area was formed. Whatever the relation was between legislation and the establishment of larger units, it remained very much the same throughout several decades.

The powers of a municipal council to create school districts on its own initiative or upon the petition of electors extend back

¹ See statement quoted on page 141.

to 1884.¹ The Act as it now² stands reads as follows:

The council of a rural municipality on its own initiative, or on the petition of a board of trustees or of any four electors of the territory affected, may, by by-law,

- (a) form into a school district any portion of the municipality in which no district has been established;
- (b) alter the boundaries of a district;
- (c) divide an existing district into two or more districts;
- (d) unite portions of an existing district with another district;
- (e) form a new district comprising portions of existing districts;
- (f) form a new district comprising portions of an existing district and lands not included in a school district;
- (g) unite two or more districts in the same municipality into one, if a majority in number of the resident electors of each such district present at any annual or special meeting pass resolutions requesting the council to pass such by-laws;
- (h) add to an existing district lands not included in any district;
- (i) dissolve an existing district situated wholly in the municipality;
- (j) transfer lands from a district situated wholly within the municipality to a union district situated partly within the municipality. AM. S.M., 1956, c. 54, s. 1 (30).

With the exception of the provisions described in subparagraphs (b), (d), (h), and (i), the written approval of the minister is required

¹See page 100.

²Date of this thesis, 1967.

after the second reading of the by-law. Before the second reading of the by-law all ratepayers and district boards whose lands are affected must be notified and be given a hearing upon request. The municipal council has the option of referring the decision to a board of arbitrators instead of handling the issue by means of a by-law (30:s. 7). Union districts may be initiated by the presentation of petitions from ratepayers to the respective municipal councils and to the inspector, whereupon an arbitration is arranged (30:s. 306). Here too, the approval of the minister must be secured. The consolidation or merger of school districts (clause "g" of the foregoing quotation) requires that a majority of the electors in each of the concerned districts adopt a resolution in favor of the union. The legislation with respect to the formation of school districts and consolidated districts and the alteration of district boundaries was not complicated but its implementation required local initiative on the part of electors, school boards or municipal councils. It was functional in that wherever alterations were required or districts needed, such could be brought about without difficulty. It was dysfunctional, as was pointed out by inspectors of schools,¹ in that districting was haphazard. Though the minister's approval was required for most procedures, this became a formality rather than an exercise of prudence, and local initiative was rarely thwarted,

¹See pages 119-120.

provided that agreement had been achieved among the parties concerned. As a majority vote was required in each district joining a consolidation, such consolidations could, and often did, assume impractical shapes, and did not necessarily form logical centers for eventual centralization of rural schools.¹

Municipal school districts may be formed upon the initiative of a municipal council or of municipal electors:

. . . the council of a rural municipality may by by-law establish a school district comprising all the lands contained in the municipality . . . if the by-law is approved by the favorable vote of a majority of the electors voting thereon . . .;

The council of a rural municipality may submit such a by-law to the resident municipal electors at any time; and, on receipt of petitions from fifteen per centum of the resident municipal electors . . . shall submit such a by-law to the resident municipal electors (30:s. 17).

Dissolution of a municipal school district may be initiated by a petition of fifteen per cent of the electors, but the applicable by-law shall not be placed before the electors until two years and six months after the establishment of the district. Though an attempt was made to have the municipal school district of Miniota dissolved, the district survived.² Though municipal councils have the authority to initiate reorganization, there appears to be no evidence that councils have been prone to do so. Unless action arose from local school boards or the electorate, no change was implemented. Few

¹See page 151.

²See page 105.

municipal school districts were established. Most of those which were formed¹ were established by an order-in-council according to the following section:

Where an official trustee has been appointed . . . for all the school districts wholly situated within a rural municipality or local government district, the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may by order-in-council constitute a school district, the boundaries of which shall coincide with the boundaries of the municipality or local government district . . . (30:s. 22).

The establishment of a school area is governed as follows:

. . . the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may, by order-in-council, (a) establish not more than three school areas, each of which may comprise all or part of the lands contained in one or more municipalities

The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council shall not include a municipality or part of a municipality in a school area unless a majority of all the electors in a proposed area who vote on the by-laws submitted by their municipalities . . . vote in favour of the establishment of the school area.

The minister may require that, before a by-law for the establishment of an area is submitted to the vote of the resident electors, at least twenty per centum of the resident electors in one of the municipalities to be included in the proposed area shall sign a request for the establishment of the area (30:ss. 24,26,29).

The procedure is characteristic: electors must petition; municipalities must have by-laws passed; the formal approval is granted by the government through the minister or through the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. Only one area, the Dauphin-Ochre Area was created. In one other area only was a petition raised, though the by-laws did not carry. No more communities initiated petitions so

¹ See page 106.

that additional areas might have been formed.

With respect to the formation of new districts, consolidated and municipal, and also the dissolution of districts, a petition from the electors has been the initiating step more often than all other kinds of initiating action (5).

Wherever the School Divisions Boundaries Commission recommended that a school district should constitute a division, the minister could, by written order, establish "a division comprising that school district alone" (30:s. 443). Otherwise the Act provides that:

. . . the minister shall not establish a school division unless a majority of the resident electors in the proposed division who vote on the proposal to establish the division vote in favour thereof (30:s. 436).

The procedure for the establishment of a school division did not call for a petition of the electors, but, on the contrary, provided that the electorate must vote:

Before a proposal for the establishment of a division is submitted to a vote of the resident electors in the proposed division, the minister, by his written order,

(a) shall approve the form of the proposal, which shall set forth

(i) the boundaries of the proposed division which shall be those recommended in the report of the commission;

(ii) the number of the wards into which the division, if established, will be divided and the boundaries of those wards, which number and boundaries shall be those recommended in the report of the commission;

(iii) the number of trustees to be elected from each ward

or from the division at large, if so recommended by the commission; and

(iv) the name and number of the proposed division;

(b) shall fix the date on which the proposal shall be submitted to the vote of the resident electors (30:s. 437).

Though in establishing school divisions, as in all previous reorganization procedures, the final choice is given to the electorate, the outcome was not left to chance. For the first time the electorate was required to make a choice without the initiative having come by means of a petition, the request of school boards, or the presentation of by-laws by municipal councils. Prior to this choice, however, the government through its department of education conducted an active publicity campaign. The electorate was informed what the organization of school divisions would imply. There is no doubt that the anticipated advantages only were published, while the electorate was left to think of possible disadvantages on its own initiative. Following are some of the questions and answers found in a pamphlet distributed by the department which no doubt helped to secure a favorable vote for the implementation of most proposed divisions:

Question: There will, then be an increase in provincial assistance under the school division plan?

Answer: Yes, a very substantial increase. The total estimated provincial contribution for the first year is \$18,495,660. This is almost 60 per cent of the total estimated operating expenses. In addition the province will pay close to \$2 million toward the cost of building schools.

Question: Will the costs of the elementary schools be shared by the province?

Answer: Yes. The building grants to the elementary schools will be at the rate of 40 per cent of the approved costs. All other grants will be equally available to the secondary schools in the division and to the elementary schools in the districts within the division.

Question: Will there still be local control of the elementary schools?

Answer: Absolutely. Indeed, there will be local control by the parents of the children of both secondary and elementary schools. In the case of the secondary the control will be through the division board. The elementary will be exactly as it is now with the exception that the division board will assume responsibility for Grades 9 to 12.

Question: The local district will still elect its own board of trustees?

Answer: Certainly. Nothing will change at the elementary level. The division board, of course, will accept the responsibility for high school grades.

Question: Have all boys and girls an equal right to attend a high school in Manitoba at present?

Answer: No. Unless their own district is supplying the secondary grade required boys and girls can attend only when there is room for them. They cannot attend as a matter of right. With the steady increase in enrolments this problem can only grow worse.

Question: Who will decide the location of the high schools within a division?

Answer: The division board, elected by the people in the division, will have the power to determine the location, the size and the number of high schools (24).

As in the school area, even so in divisions the local districts were permitted to continue the operation of elementary schools, but with undiminished control. If reorganization is to be achieved through a permissive process, this provision may have helped to accelerate rather than to retard the process in Manitoba. Indeed, it may have been the very factor that permitted the general

introduction of school divisions in 1959.

The provision for changing a school division to a school area for operational purposes requires considerable local initiative. A referendum is directed to the electorate if the minister receives a petition from the trustees of "not less than fifty per centum of the school districts operating in a school division, in which not less than fifty per centum of the pupils in that division reside" (30:s. 466A). Obviously two hurdles must be surmounted before the realization of such an establishment. Legislation passed in 1966 with respect to the formation of single-district divisions gave the minister the authority to cause a referendum of the resident electors to be held, or alternatively to proceed with such a referendum only after receiving a written petition of at least twenty per cent of the resident electors of a division (30:s. 444C). It also permitted the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council to declare any one or all of the five interlake divisions as single-district divisions (30:s. 313). It is apparent that such legislation portends imminent progress in school district reorganization in at least parts of the province. The legislation of the same year also permits a board, or twenty per cent of the resident electors of a district, to request the minister to transfer the management of the affairs of the district to the division. The recommendation may subsequently be made by the Board of Reference after holding a public hearing (30:s. 444B). A similar arrangement

allowing school boards to delegate their powers to regional boards was provided in Quebec in 1964 (28:5).

The nature of government grants available to administrative units may affect the kind of reorganization that takes place. The five-hundred dollar establishment grant for consolidated districts provided in the years following 1905 was eliminated in 1921.¹ Certainly an incentive to consolidate was removed, and though the cessation of consolidations need not be contributable to this factor only, it may well have been the cause of some consolidations not being realized. Special grants were not provided for municipal school districts. The operational advantages of such units were expected to be sufficient incentive for their acceptance. However, few were established. Improved grants were made available for specialized services in the school area. Its profitable feature was one of more efficient administration and more services per dollar spent, rather than one of demonstrable less over-all cost to the ratepayer. In apparent contrast, school divisions were planned to be implemented. An establishment grant of ten thousand dollars was provided. Capital grants ranging from forty to seventy-five per cent of cost were provided. Depending on the qualifications and experience of a teacher, the per teacher grant ranged from \$2000 to \$9700. Other significant grants were: 75 per cent of approved maintenance costs; 60 per cent of approved transportation costs;

¹See page 102.

50 per cent of approved costs for administration and supplies; and, 100 per cent of text book costs if these were supplied free to students (30:s. 482).

Legislation of 1965 provided for an additional ten thousand dollar grant to any division which voted to establish itself as a school area (30). It also provided for increased construction grants for elementary schools. No petition for such a move has been received. Legislation of the following year provided for additional grants for single-district divisions:

The net amount of the grant payable each year . . . to a school division formed under or within the meaning of section 443, to a school area and a school division assuming powers and duties under section 446B . . . shall be increased by ten per centum (30:s. 482).

Most certainly the outcome of the vote on the province-wide referendum on March 10, 1967, was determined to a large degree by these incentive grants.¹

When a municipal school district is formed ". . . all the debts and liabilities of the several districts being wound up shall be chargeable and levied against the lands comprised in the district that was previously liable therefor" (30:s. 142). This provision has not changed since 1924, and it possibly has not encouraged the formation of the municipal units. The rate-payers of districts in debt found no immediate financial incentive

¹Of 33 divisions in which a vote was held, 14 opted in favor of the single-district form of organization.

in such a move. In the formation of a school area all the assets and liabilities of the formerly included districts are assumed by the area board (30:s. 37). The legislation of 1966 provides the same incentive for the formation of consolidated districts and single-district divisions (30:s. 313B).

The Act provides for essential aid to remote districts or to any other schools where the minister may deem such to be necessary (30:ss. 159,486).

In his survey of education in Manitoba in 1938, D. S. Woods suggested that the major emphasis in the distribution of provincial aid to school districts should be based upon efficiency or on the extension of school services rather than on the basis of minimum need (26:133). This seems reasonable if the provision of a minimum program of services is to be left entirely in the hands of the local school districts. If, however, a provincial authority will insist, as it should, that a basic or minimum program of services be available to all of the school population, a foundation program of school financing seems to be a better provision. The Michener Commission recommended as follows:

The Department of Education should redefine the foundation program for elementary and secondary schools in terms of complete cost of all of its components and should pay to each division any balance of the cost of such foundation program after applying to it the Manitoba public school levy.

Division school boards should have power to provide both elementary and secondary school services of a standard and

quality in excess of those provided by the foundation program, and the cost of such services over and above the cost of the foundation program should be levied by school division boards as an additional tax at a uniform rate upon the equalized assessment, including business surtax assessment, throughout the division (33:71).

Since the introduction of school divisions in 1959, the municipal tax bill included school levies from three sources: the general levy for the division; the special divisional levy for costs not covered by the general levy and provincial grants; and, the special district levy for elementary school costs not covered by the general levy and provincial grants. The general levy as well as the special divisional levy varied from division to division. The special district levy varied from district to district within a division. For example, for 1962 the special district levy from low-rate to high-rate district ranged from 1.4 to 15.3 mills in Fort la Bosse Division, from 8.0 to 70.0 mills in Lakeshore Division, and from 1.8 to 27.4 mills in Tiger Hills Division (33:65). Such varying tax rates have been a hindrance to the implementation of reorganization within divisions. Districts with lower mill rates have not been prone to consider consolidating with districts having higher mill rates.

Due to its location in two or more municipalities, the taxpayers of a union school district have varying tax-rates imposed upon their properties. The complexity of assessments and tax collecting is further aggravated by the number of municipal taxing

authorities any one division board may have to deal with. Thirty-five school divisions, which are predominantly rural in character, requisition rural municipalities, local government districts, and incorporated towns and villages for school revenue. A school division may be requisitioning from two to thirteen municipalities, from one to three local government districts, and as many as five incorporated towns or villages. In 1965 the combined number of local governments requisitioned ranged from five to seventeen for any one division. Another way of putting this is to say that the thirty-five divisions made out a total of 328 separate requisitions, 230 to municipalities, 22 to local government districts, and 76 to incorporated towns and villages. The very complexity of this tax collecting machinery is in itself inhibitory to reorganization. It increases and confuses the lines of communication which are conducive to reorganization planning and implementation.

Inspectors and secretary-treasurers had much to say, in response to questionnaire items, with respect to obstacles encountered in reorganization attempts. Most of these had to do with local conditions, and these are considered in the next chapter. As can be seen from Table XVII, page 213, not many responses were elicited which were related to school legislation. Twelve inspectors indicated that problems inherent in taxation were an obstacle, and eight that the financing of operational costs was a difficulty. Only five referred to the legislation and four to the grant system. The

TABLE XVII

RELATED PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED DURING IMPLEMENTATION OF REORGANIZATION^a

Area in which problems were indicated	Number of Times Indicated by		
	Inspectors (N=28)	Secretary- Treasurers (N=26)	Both within same Division (N=18)
Legislation	5	2	0
Grants	4	2	0
Taxation	12	5	0
Financing operational costs	8	1	0
Appeals ^b referred to Board of References	4	-	-
Appeals ^b referred to County Court	7	-	-

^a Source: Questionnaire returns from 28 inspectors and 26 secretary-treasurers from 35 divisions.

^b Appeals were concerned with the placement of a school district in one division or another. Some had to do with the movement of land from one district to another. One board successfully appealed to have two adjacent districts, both not operating schools, annexed (the first such case on record).

following pertinent remarks were volunteered by some inspectors:

Small schools qualify for operating grants with as low as 7 pupils, and if several of these are encouraged to merge, they would still only qualify for one grant. . . . The differential between special tax mill rates as between adjacent school districts makes mergers unacceptable to the district with the lower rate.¹

Council delayed action by refusing to appoint arbitrators.

Present method of dissolution, consolidation and transfer is cumbersome and costly.¹

One secretary-treasurer replied that:

Low assessment of some areas does not permit consolidation with reasonable tax rate.¹

Six school division secretary-treasurers, who could be reached with convenience, were interviewed during the summer of 1965. Not one felt that any Manitoba division would ask for the implementation of Bill 39 which provided for the change from a school division to the school area plan. Their prediction remained true for the ensuing year. Two felt that their divisions had good consolidations, and that such a move would provide no advantages. One stated that the people in his division were considering consolidation in order to strengthen the rural local units so that they might be able to frustrate the possibility of the division assuming control of elementary schools. One indicated informal cooperation among all boards of the division in an attempt to plan logical consolidation centers. Two others indicated the need for coordination

¹See Appendix A for questionnaire.

of consolidation planning, as it was sporadic and haphazard (12).

In view of important legislation in 1965, and more particularly in 1966, which could have an impressive impact upon district reorganization in the province, an additional questionnaire¹ was mailed to inspectors and secretary-treasurers of the same thirty-five divisions in May of 1966. The responses of 30 inspectors and 22 secretary-treasurers who replied are summarized in Table XVIII, page 216. Taking into account duplication of responses by inspectors and secretary-treasurers, it would appear that consolidations occurred in at least 22 divisions during the 1965-66 term, and that more consolidations were under consideration in an equal number of divisions. Serious consideration was not given to the implementation of Bill 39. Apparently only one or two divisions evoked some interest in changing to a school area. Responses from at least 12 divisions showed more than a passing interest in establishing single-district divisions. In at least one division a petition had already been circulated in order to request the opportunity to vote on the question.² Combined replies indicated a change of view with respect to surrendering small rural school district independence in at least 25 divisions, though it may

¹See Appendixes B & D.

²Two suburban divisions, not included in the illustrated data, consisting of 4 and 5 districts respectively, indicated readiness to become single-district divisions.

TABLE XVIII
REORGANIZATION ACTIVITY FOR 1965 - 1966^a

Item	Number of Times Indicated by		
	Inspectors (N=30)	Secretary- Treasurers (N=22)	Both within same Division (N=18)
Consolidations completed during 1965-66 term	13	16	7
Consolidations planned or under consideration	15	17	10
Desire to implement Bill 39 ^b	1	1	0
Desire to implement Bill 16 ^c	7	8	3
Change of views with respect to rural district independence	23	10 ^d	8

^aSource: Questionnaire returns from 30 inspectors and 22 secretary-treasurers from 35 divisions.

^bChanging a school division into a school area.

^cForming single-district divisions. An additional 7 responses from inspectors and 2 responses from secretary-treasurers indicated that "some" interest was shown.

^dAn additional 5 responses indicated that the change of view was that of school boards only or that of urban electors only.

be more prudent to say that such a change of view is reported as perceived by 23 inspectors and 10 secretary-treasurers. It is impossible to say whether the perception of either is precise, or whether that of inspectors is more accurate than that of the secretary-treasurers.¹

The legislation providing for the formation of larger administrative units in the province has been of a permissive nature almost without exception. An illustration of such legislation and its accompanying consequences is given in Table XIX, page 218. Only in a few instances was legislation followed by immediate implementation. A number of municipal school districts were created in 1936 by order-in-council. The school divisions of Manitoba were established by wish of the electorate, but the latter were not required to petition for an opportunity to vote. Frontier School Division was established by an order of the minister for which provision was made by a special Act. A special Act also provided for the interlake divisions to be declared as single-district divisions.

Conclusion. Just as the planning of school district reorganization in Manitoba was found to be a highly centralized activity, it may be concluded that the implementation of the mechanics of

¹The outcome of the March 10, 1967 referendum is, in part, a reflection of any change of view.

TABLE XIX

IMPLEMENTATION OF LARGER ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS^a

Type of Unit	Nature of Legislation	Date Enacted	Date of Formation of First Unit	Total Number of Units at Given Years	
Consolidated Sch. District	Permissive	1902	1905	48 (1913)	194 (1965)
Municipal Sch. District	Permissive	1911	1919	1 (1955)	4 (1966)
Municipal Sch. District	by Order-in-Council	1936	1936	8 (1936)	7 (1966)
High School District	Permissive	1920	(none established)		
School Area	Permissive ^b	1945	1947		1 (1966)
Secondary Sch. Area	Permissive	1953	1955	4 (1958)	0 (1959)
School Division	Permissive ^c	1958	1959	40 (1959)	47 (1966)

^aCompiled from data in Chapter IV.

^bLegislation of 1965 permits the changing of school divisions into school areas; none have been formed to date.

^cLegislation, though permissive, required a mandatory referendum in each proposed division. Legislation of 1966 permits the reorganization of multi-district divisions into single-district divisions. Nineteen divisions opted in favor of continuing as multi-district divisions on the referendum held on March 10, 1967.

reorganization likewise has been a highly centralized procedure. The final decision, as to whether a new kind of unit shall indeed be established, characteristically has been delegated to the electorate. By and large the implementation of any reorganization has been a slow and cumbersome process. The initiation of any implementation had to come from municipal councils, school boards or electors, and the final approval, perhaps ceremonial, was given by the minister. Attempts to introduce new units generally required a petition, fifteen per cent of the electorate for a municipal school district, twenty per cent for a school area or a single-district school division, and for districts to surrender control of district affairs to division boards. Fifty per cent of all district boards must favor converting a division into a school area before a referendum can be held. A mandatory referendum occurred for the first time in 1959, and for a second time in 1967.

With reference to the criteria listed at the beginning of this section, the following conclusions can be made:

- 1) A referendum generally has been required for the establishment of a reorganized unit. Until recently a local petition rather than a provincial mandate preceded such a referendum. The implementation of reorganized units in the province, as an apparent consequence, has been painful and slow.
- 2) Provision for the electorate to initiate reorganization was made. The privilege was provided. It has rarely been exercised.
- 3) Local reorganization plans have been approved by provincial

authorities, but there has been no coordinated control. Only as of 1966 will such control be exercised by the Local Governments Boundaries Commission.

4) The legislation has been clear with respect to the kinds of units that could be organized and the procedure by which such organization could take place. Perhaps it could be said that much of the recent legislation was required, and should have been passed, as much as twenty years earlier with respect to the educational needs of rural Manitoba.

5) The legislation with respect to school areas and school divisions provided for the continued operation of elementary schools in local districts until the closing of such districts was authorized by the residents. This provision may not have impeded the evolution of reorganization. Apparently, it did aid the introduction of the one school area and of the school divisions. It is highly unlikely that either would have been accepted in rural Manitoba at the time without the guarantee of local control of elementary schools.

6) Manitoba's system of school financing includes incentives conducive to district reorganization. Generous provision is made with respect to capital and transportation costs and specialized services. Special grants are provided for reorganized units. Provision is made for necessary small schools. Generous teacher grants may have impeded reorganization in that a district of low enrolment may have found that the grant covered almost the total cost of instruction. The

disposition of the assets and liabilities of districts, generally assumed by the new unit, may have been a retarding factor. Though much equalization of assessment has been brought about in the province, inequality has continued from district to district and from division to division. An improved foundation program of school financing may add an incentive to reorganization.

The implementation of reorganization in Manitoba, unlike that in the western provinces, has been highly permissive in nature. Historically, this may have been a mistake. In view of what has occurred since 1958, however, it may be doubtful that educational progress could be accelerated appreciably by changing the process to one highly mandatory in nature. Though the provincial body of school trustees along with the teachers' organization urged the government to include a clause stipulating a mandatory referendum in its 1966 legislation with respect to single-district divisions, political expediency may have caused the government to delay such commitment until after its success at the polls in June of the same year.

The Disestablishment of School Districts

Some reorganization of administrative units can be brought about by providing for the disestablishment of districts which no longer serve the purpose well for which they were originally intended. This is particularly true of many districts with small

enrolments, and perhaps of all districts which no longer operate schools.

Evaluative criteria. The following factors have been considered helpful in expediting the dissolution of inadequate districts:

- 1) provision for mandatory merging to an adjacent district if a school district operates no school, or if its enrolment is small;
- 2) the requirement that a small district must offer a basic or foundation program of services;
- 3) the absence of grants which make the operation of a small district profitable to its ratepayers;
- 4) the requirement that tuition fees charged by an accommodating district be high enough to cover a fair share cost of the program (1:175; 202; 4; 36:14).

Comparative references. Fitzwater found that in some states taxpayers in districts operating one-teacher schools or no schools at all enjoyed a financial advantage. Aid to small school districts was found to retard reorganization. Some states sought to overcome this by raising the required minimum enrolment in order to obtain state aid (9:94). In Chapter II it was pointed out that in 1961 fourteen states had laws which required the dissolution of non-operating school districts and seven states made mandatory the annexation of low

enrolment school districts to adjacent districts. Characteristically, Canadian provinces have not required the mandatory dissolution of districts which do not operate schools. As is illustrated in Table XX, page 224, the grant structures of Saskatchewan, Quebec and Prince Edward Island only have been supposedly such that the dissolution of low enrolment districts would be encouraged. There is little evidence that such "encouragement" has produced effective results in Prince Edward Island. The grant structures of Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec apparently have provided for the assistance of poor or small districts. Such districts are evidently not as inclined as they might be to request dissolution and consolidation.

Manitoba legislation - its implementation and consequences.

None of the larger administrative units, other than some consolidated districts, have been dissolved.¹ The mechanics for disestablishment, fortunately, are not less involved than those for establishment. Municipal school districts must be in operation at least two and one half years before a petition, requiring 15 per cent of the electorate, may be submitted so that a by-law can be prepared for a vote by the electorate (30:s. 18). School areas and school divisions must be in operation for at least five years before a petition, requiring 25 per cent of the electorate, may be submitted to the minister so that the decision can be placed before the residents

¹Some municipal school districts will cease to be following the establishment of some single-district divisions in rural Manitoba in 1967.

TABLE XX

LEGISLATION RESPECTING DISESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN CANADA^a

Provision	B.C.	Alta.	Sask.	Man.	Ont.	Que.	N.B.	N.S.	P.E.I.	Nfd.
Mandatory dissolution of districts with closed schools	n.a.	No	No	No	No ^b	No	No ^b	No	No	No
Grant structure which encourages dissolution of low enrolment school districts	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	n.a.	--	Yes	No
Grant structure allows specific assistance to small or poor districts	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No

^aCompiled from questionnaire returns from provincial departments of education, 1965.^bRecent legislation would eliminate such districts.

of the unit, and no such petition may be raised after the unit has been in operation for seven years (30:ss. 38A, 471A).

The concern here is not with the dissolution of larger but of smaller units. The procedure for initiating the dissolution of a rural school district is similar to that of initiating the establishment of one. The source of action may arise from the municipal council, the board of the district, or by means of a petition of electors (30:s. 7).

Though an enrolment of ten children is required for the establishment of a district, only six¹ are required to operate a school for an established district:

Where the average attendance of pupils at any school in a school district for any term is five or fewer than five, the board of trustees shall not engage a teacher for the school for the ensuing term or make arrangements to open the school; but the board shall make provision for the maintenance and upkeep of the school house and school site (30:s. 272).

Such a district must provide transportation for any pupil to another school, and need pay only a sum of "not less than six dollars and fifty cents for each month that the pupil is enrolled in any grade from one to eight" (30:s. 272). On the other hand, such a district receives a sum of eleven dollars per month for each pupil from the Provincial Treasurer less any amounts it receives from the municipality (30:s. 178). As government grants are based on the payment of a fraction of operational costs, it follows that the tax bill

¹The MacFarlane Commission recommended in 1958 "that no school with an enrolment of less than 10 pupils be permitted to operate" (13:57).

of ratepayers within the district will decrease, as there may be no special district levy to be raised. The financial advantage enjoyed by the resident electors is an incentive to maintain a closed district rather than to request its dissolution. The legislation has not required the dissolution of closed school districts. It stated:

Where all the schools of a school district are closed and have been continuously closed for ten or more years, the minister may refer the matter of dissolving the school district to a Board of Reference . . . (30:s. 272).

A 1966 amendment substituted "two or more years"¹ for "ten or more years" in the foregoing quoted section, and added:

Where . . . the Board of Reference orders that a school district be continued, notwithstanding that it has been closed for two or more years, if the school district is situated within a school division, it shall also order that the affairs of the school district be managed by the board of the division in which the school district is situated (30:s. 272).

Another 1966 amendment to the Act states that where the affairs of a school district have been managed for two or more years by an official trustee,²

. . . the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may revoke the appointment of the official trustee and order that the affairs of the school district be managed by the board of the division in which the school district is situated (30:114).

The intent of the foregoing amendments is obvious. The disestablishment

¹The MacFarlane Commission made this recommendation in 1958 (13:57).

²The MacFarlane Commission recommended that the district either elect its own board or be administered by the division (13:207).

of non-operating school districts is to be facilitated.¹

Under the present provincial grant structure the dissolution of low enrolment school districts within divisions need not seem desirable. The general levy depends in part upon the balanced assessment per authorized teacher (30:s. 474). Larger enrolments per school would require fewer authorized teachers. This would result in an increased balanced assessment per teacher, and hence in a higher mill rate. Though the over-all cost of education within a division may decrease somewhat through centralization of schools, the psychological effect of immediate changes in the mill rate is not conducive to a serious consideration of the dissolution of rural districts.

A perusal of the Annual Reports of the Department of Education leads to the conclusion that there have been more than two hundred districts with closed schools year after year over the last four decades. For the 1965-66 year 246 such districts were reported. It was illustrated in Table IX, page 101, that the disestablishment of school districts was a gradual but slow process.

Responses of school inspectors and secretary-treasurers of divisions with respect to the disestablishment of districts since 1959 are summarized in Table XXI, page 228. Seventeen inspectors and nine secretary-treasurers, representing a total of 20 divisions

¹On November 1, 1966, apparently the responsibility for 70 closed districts was handed over to their 13 respective division boards (17:4).

TABLE XXI

DISESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS SINCE 1959^a

Item	Number of Times Indicated by		
	Inspectors	Secretary-Treasurers	Both within same Division
	(N=28)	(N=26)	(N=18)
Factors associated with dissolution of districts:			
1. Closed schools	17	9	6
2. Low enrolments	14	12	5
3. Consolidations	23	13	8
Initiation of dissolution of districts by:			
1. Request of electors	20	16	10
2. Request of boards	14	6	2
3. Suggestion of inspector	12	0	0
Districts that should be dissolved due to:			
1. Closed schools	25	17	9
2. Low enrolments	24	14	6
Closed school districts not desiring dissolution due to lower tax advantage			
	19	16	9

^aSource: Questionnaire returns from 28 inspectors and 26 secretary-treasurers from 35 divisions.

indicated that closed schools were associated with dissolutions. Low enrolments were associated with the dissolution of districts in 21 divisions. That these factors and consolidations should be associated with the dissolution of districts is obvious. What may be of greater significance is that district dissolution was initiated by electors more frequently than by school boards. However, this does not imply that boards did not play a role in instigating ratepayers to petition for the dissolution of their districts. This may well have been the case in several instances. Inspectors felt that they had in many cases been instrumental in initiating action, but no secretary-treasurers perceived their activity as such. Responses from 33 of the 35 divisions indicated districts with closed schools, and from 32 out of 35 low enrolment districts which should be dissolved. Nineteen inspectors and 16 secretary-treasurers representing 26 divisions indicated districts not desiring dissolution due to a tax advantage. One inspector reported:

Closed schools prefer to remain as such, because this assures them of a constant budget, and perhaps a very economical education for their children, as compared with operating schools. Actually operating schools receiving pupils from closed schools, subsidized the closed school.

A secretary-treasurer replied:

Grants have favored one-room schools.

Another wrote:

Some closed schools have been given concessions on a per pupil

basis dating back to pre-1959 and this now hinders consolidation on a large scale in one area.¹

Only six replies indicated that there were some districts with closed schools where there was a realistic hope that such schools might be re-opened.

Conclusion. Manitoba's school legislation has not required the mandatory disestablishment of districts with closed schools or of districts with low enrolments. The educational program of a small school district is limited by the fact that a teacher is required to teach several subjects in as many as eight grades. It was established in Chapter IV that the small rural school of the past did not provide adequate educational opportunities for children. The reports of inspectors for more than half a century testify to that. The provincial system of school financing has not penalized the small district -- in fact, the district may have enjoyed tax advantages. Tuition fees to be paid to another district for the pupils of a district not operating a school have been low and have not covered a fair share of the real costs. Districts not operating schools or with low enrolment schools, in a real sense, have been subsidized by the rest of the provinces. Recent legislation may hasten the disestablishment of unprofitable units.

¹Quoted from Questionnaire responses.

The Centralization of Rural Elementary Schools Within Administrative Units

The condition which permits the centralization of schools into more adequate instructional units is one of the major objects of district reorganization. Centralization is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve for schools which are not within the same administrative unit and under the same school board. Meaningful centralization may not be achieved if the reorganization of districts does not follow a planned and over-all pattern for large geographical areas.

Evaluative criteria. Two criteria stand out as being significant to the centralization of schools:

- 1) legislation which prevents the haphazard merging of districts during a time of district reorganization;
- 2) mandatory approval of new buildings by a provincial authority (1:193, 202; 37:13).

Comparative references. In Chapter II it was noted that during the last two decades the number of one-room schools in the United States was reduced sharply. The no less noteworthy reduction in the number of one-teacher schools in the Canadian provinces since the 1930's was illustrated in Table VI, page 54.

Returns from the provinces with respect to provisions related to the centralization of schools are listed in Table XXII, page 232. Only in British Columbia, Manitoba and Ontario has departmental

TABLE XXII

LEGISLATION RESPECTING THE CENTRALIZATION OF SCHOOLS WITHIN ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS IN CANADA^a

Provision	B.C.	Alta.	Sask.	Man.	Ont.	Que.	N.B.	N.S.	P.E.I.	Nfld.
Site of new building requires provincial approval	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Construction of new building requires provincial approval	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mandatory centralization of rural schools	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Grant structure encourages construction of small schools	No	No	No	No	No	No	n.a.	--	Yes	Yes
Grant structure encourages centralization of small rural schools	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	n.a.	Yes	Yes	Yes

^aCompiled from questionnaire returns from provincial departments of education, 1965.

approval not been required in selecting a school site. All provinces have required departmental approval of the local district decision to construct a new building. Mandatory centralization has not been required in any province. Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland returns suggested that the grant structure of these provinces encouraged the construction of small schools. All provinces except British Columbia apparently have had grant structures which encouraged the centralization of small rural schools. Though the replies from Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland appeared to be inconsistent with respect to the effect of grants to small schools upon centralization, there may have been other related factors within the grant structures which made the responses accurate.

Manitoba legislation - its implementation and consequences.

The centralization of schools becomes a possibility when school administrative units are larger than mere elementary attendance areas. One of the objects of district consolidation was the centralization of small rural schools and the provision of a graded school. Districts had to be large enough so that the pupil population would permit a graded school. As no over-all plan governed consolidation, units were formed haphazardly and not with a view of forming logical centers for larger schools. As has been pointed out, even in recent years an average of only 2.9 rural districts formed a consolidation¹

¹See page 103.

which in many cases merely allowed for a one-room school with a larger enrolment. The M.S.T.A. in its 1963 brief to the Michener Commission pointed out the need for a commission which would control rural reorganization. The Michener Commission incorporated the recommendation into its report of 1964. The Manitoba Legislature in 1966 passed legislation, as has been reported earlier in this chapter, which provided for the creation of The Local Government Boundaries Commission. No more consolidated schools are to be formed without the recommendation of this Commission. It shall also be the duty of the Commission to recommend the site for schools within consolidated districts and within divisions (30:s. 313B).

The legislation permits, as it has for more than four decades, the electors of a rural district to decide upon the site of a school (30:s. 159). However, the purchase, erection, enlarging or remodeling of a school building must be approved by the minister (30:s. 176). Departmental control over school buildings has been exercised with a view of assuring adequate standards of construction, rather than of controlling the location or size of a school. The legislation of 1966 placed some control over the selection of a site in the hands of the Department. Division school boards were given the power of site selection for secondary schools. In case of a dispute, the matter could be referred to the School Divisions Boundaries Commission by the board or by the minister (30:s. 496). In one case where

no satisfactory arbitration could be arranged, the Commission rearranged the division boundaries thereby separating the opposing factions.¹ District boards within a school area may require the area board to close any school and make provision for pupils to attend another school, "if in the opinion of the board of the district, the pupils can thereby obtain a better education" (30:s. 34).

Inspectors and secretary-treasurers reporting for 35 divisions indicated that in at least 14 divisions a total number of 29 rural districts operated more than one school site. Some municipal school districts operated as many as six one-room schools and apparently have not attempted to centralize these into one graded school. Though at one time road conditions may have justified more than one school in some districts, there are districts which within the last two decades replaced old schools without centralizing the small schools in the district. The lack of sound legislative control is demonstrated by the following response by an inspector:

Electors could not agree on site for one school. Consequently two schools were built. This reason does not warrant the present arrangement, but explains it.²

Twenty-seven inspectors reporting from 35 divisions in the spring of 1965 indicated that 71 per cent or 673 out of 949 elementary schools were one-teacher schools. Another 10.7 per cent, or 102, were

¹Cited on page 182.

²Quoted from Questionnaire responses.

two-teacher schools. In other words, about 82 per cent of the rural schools contained in the sample reported (27 out of 35 divisions) were either one or two-teacher schools. There is, indeed, ample scope for centralization. But centralization could not take place as long as rural school districts remained discrete and autonomous units.

As was indicated in an earlier part of this chapter, new legislation provided for the management of closed districts and of districts under official trustees to be turned over to division boards. Also, district consolidation was henceforth to be subject to planned direction. Furthermore, the capital grant structure was altered, perhaps sufficiently to be an incentive to rural district enlargement and consequent centralization. The legislation of 1965 provided for "sixty per centum¹ of the cost of new elementary school buildings having eight or more actual teaching classrooms" (30:482). Single-district divisions were to receive a ten per cent increase in net operational grants. Where such are formed, the small rural districts are dissolved, and the divisional control of all elementary education will make possible planned centralizations within divisions.

When the school divisions were formed in 1959, division boards

¹The Foundation Program announced in January, 1967, is to meet "100% of the approved costs of school buildings and school buses" (25).

exercised their prerogative in deciding where new high schools should be built. In practice most boards gave in to the pressures of local communities and built several new secondary schools in most divisions, thereby defeating the intent of the MacFarlane Commission which was that centralized high schools large enough to provide an expanded program should be erected. Grants were high, and the building program became costly for the province. Thereupon the Department of Education established a School Building Projects Committee, an inter-departmental committee, which processed all building applications. Though the committee could not undo much of the unwise "planning" of division boards, it reduced subsequent unnecessary building through prudent and persuasive control. In the 1964-65 year, for example, the committee held 56 meetings, received 119 notices of intent to build or add to existing buildings, and made 89 recommendations of approval to the Minister of Education (23:32).

Conclusion. Manitoba's redistricting legislation was intended to allow maximum scope of choice to the local electorate, their school boards and municipal councils. There was no over-all plan to guide the merging and consolidation of districts. The legislation with respect to the creation of school divisions did provide for a pattern of units within a provincial context and also provided an opportunity to centralize high schools. The implementation of more recent legislation -- that is, the assumption of the responsibility

for rural elementary education by division boards -- may bring about desirable centralization of rural elementary schools. New construction should have the approval of the Department of Education. It would seem that centralization could be accelerated if the choice of site would have to receive the approval of a provincial commission as well. The greatly increased grants for elementary school construction providing for at least eight teaching classrooms should encourage some rural school centralization even in multi-district divisions, wherever such are maintained.

The Sharing of Services of One School Administrative Unit with Another

It may not be economically feasible for any rural administrative unit to provide all the educational services which are both desirable and necessary. Reller concluded that "the search for the single area which meets all educational needs can thus be dispensed with; it is not to be found" (31:206). The legislation should, therefore, take into account the provision of necessary services for smaller units.

Evaluative criterion. Several writers agree that the legislation should be comprehensive, applying to all redistricting problems and needs within the province (1:202; 6:125; 9:105).

Comparative references. In the United States the intermediate unit was developed to provide for the educational services which

smaller districts could not achieve for themselves. Canada has not developed a comparable intermediate unit. The Municipal School Board has served in this capacity to some degree in Nova Scotia, and in New Brunswick the County Finance Board has provided financial services for the included districts. A close working relationship has developed between the regional school boards and the school municipality commissions in Quebec. The school board of Manitoba's only school area had assumed some responsibility for the educational program for each of the area's component districts, and hence performed much more than a service function. It appears that in Canadian provinces legislation has provided for some cooperative arrangements to be made between districts, however there is little evidence that there has been such practice to any notable extent.

Manitoba school legislation - its implementation and consequences. Though a school area board has been generally responsible for the elementary schools of its component districts, provision was made for additional services to be rendered at the expense of the local district. District boards,

. . . may enter into an agreement with the board of the area to furnish, at the expense of the district, such educational facilities, services, apparatus, and equipment, for the school of the district as are not ordinarily provided by the board of the area for schools in the area (30:s. 34).

Otherwise, the area board has been responsible, without specific negotiation, for the provision of teachers, for pupil transportation, and all financial matters. Division boards may share services with

district boards:

The board may enter into an agreement with a local board to provide a special service to the local board and charge the cost thereof to the local board (30:454).

A superintendent may be shared by a division and its component districts:

Where all the local boards have, by resolution, agreed thereto, the board of the division may appoint a superintendent of schools for the division, fix and pay his salary, and define his duties (30:s. 454).

The requirement that "all the local boards" must agree has made this provision difficult to implement. Nevertheless, by January, 1967, at least five rural divisions had appointed superintendents.

Divisions may make agreements with other divisions with respect to pupils desiring instruction in a division other than their own (30:s. 453). The legislation of 1966 increased the scope within which a board of trustees could make agreements with respect to school services. The new section of the Act provides that a board of trustees may:

. . . notwithstanding any other provision herein, enter into an agreement with any one or more of the following persons, boards, departments, or agencies of the government, as the case may be:

(i) the board of another school district, school division, or area,

(ii) the minister,

(iii) a department or agency of the Government of Canada, for any one or more of the following purposes:

(iv) the attendance of children from its district at any school in the other district, division, or area,

- (v) the education of children or the provision of educational services for children,
- (vi) the provision, exchange or sharing of other educational services,
- (vii) the payment, sharing, and collection of such fees and charges as may be agreed upon by the parties to the agreement;

but where the agreement is with a department or agency of the Government of Canada, the agreement is subject to the approval of the minister (30:s.135).

Thus, the opportunity for sharing services between school administrative units has been provided in the legislation. The extent to which this provision will be implemented depends on the needs and wishes of the units, and on the recognition of its possibilities by school boards. The conditions under which areas and divisions could enter into "shared services" agreements with private schools were legislated in 1965 (30:s. 157A,B).

A number of school divisions had provided limited services to rural districts. Division boards provided for some or all transportation in 29 divisions, and some divisional school equipment was made available to elementary schools in 16 divisions.¹ Under the management of division boards, text books were supplied during the 1965-66 school term to all pupils in private schools, and transportation was provided for such pupils in some divisions. In a few divisions students of private schools attended division schools for special classes such as home economics.²

¹Questionnaire returns from inspectors and secretary-treasurers from 35 divisions, April, 1965.

²Questionnaire returns from inspectors and secretary-treasurers from 35 divisions, May, 1966.

A challenging prospect considered by the government during its 1966 session is the development of regional vocational schools. Division boards will be involved in the direction of such schools. No doubt this involves a broadening of the concept of the sharing of services between different administrative units. Part of the legislation with respect to this area of educational development is as follows:

498. The minister may refer to The Local Government Boundaries Commission for determination, the establishment of the boundaries of a region consisting of two or more school divisions and the selection of a site for a regional vocational school therein.

499. Where, after considering every matter referred to it under section 498, the Local Government Boundaries Commission recommends to the minister that a region should be established, the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may

(a) establish the boundaries of a region as recommended by The Local Government Boundaries Commission;

(b) establish the site for the regional vocational school within the region; and

(c) appoint a board for the region to be known as: "The Regional Vocational School Board" comprised of at least one member selected from the board of each school division contained in the region (30:ss. 498-499).

Conclusion. Adequate provision has been made in the legislation for the sharing of services between school administrative units in Manitoba. This is one area in which legislation should be permissive, otherwise the very scope of shared services would be limited. The extent of sharing services must depend entirely upon the need of units and their ability to provide for these needs by common agreement.

Permissive legislation in itself does not guarantee that the privileges it extends will be exercised. This chapter, as well as the preceding chapter, has demonstrated that little but inertia and inaction may follow permissive legislation. Therefore, divisions and districts must be advised on how the legislation could apply in particular circumstances and how they may benefit by planning and implementing specific programs of shared services.

IV. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The structure of Manitoba's school legislation with respect to the reorganization of administrative units was formed during pioneer years. It was highly permissive in nature. This was suitable to early settlement patterns and to the needs of diverse cultural groups, as has been illustrated in Chapter III. Departmental officials helped with district reorganization whenever they were called upon to assist, however, they had no authority to initiate action. Manitoba's political experience prior to 1916 also seemed to be a barrier to any substantial change in educational legislation. Meanwhile a system of small rural districts spread across the province. With reference to local districts, Reller states that "Once established, they develop a life of their own and fight for the right to remain free of state control" (31:149). Governments may be politically impotent to bring about change. What Campbell and others have had to say about the American scene may well have applied to the Manitoban

situation:

Legislators have generally been reluctant to act arbitrarily in the alteration of existing units or in the establishment of new districts (2:93).

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Many of our governmental arrangements are obsolete . . . Our tradition of localism supports obsolescent practices; often politicians would lose their jobs if more rational governmental units were established . . . we find it easier to continue doing what we have been doing than to change. This resistance to change affects school district reorganization as well as the relationships between schools and other governmental units (2:524).

Conditions do change and require that the legislation be changed. The provincial government is charged with the responsibility for education and is guilty of negligence in this field when it fails to make legislative provision for the changing needs relative to education. Only in recent years, beginning with the School Divisions Boundaries Commission, has district reorganization been subjected to an over-all provincial plan. The difficulty of implementing plans for reorganization has in large part been due to the haphazard growth of districts throughout the province. Such implementation has been slow and cumbersome because the initiation for change has had to come mainly from the local districts. If the policy of the government is to remain that major reorganization must come about through permissive legislation, the province's educational objectives might be achieved more readily if local planning and an electorate decision upon approved local plans were made mandatory.

There is no logical defence for the maintenance of districts

which do not operate schools, or of non-isolated districts with low enrolment schools. Such districts have been maintained at the expense of the larger population, and special privileges directed to such units has been a gross misapplication of democratic principles. Though the 1966 legislation may achieve intended results, it is also permissive and does not require the Minister to take action with respect to such districts. There appears to be no valid reason why the legislation could not be mandatory with respect to the disestablishment of such units.

Permissive legislation passed in 1966 provided for a choice of larger administrative units, the school area or the single-district division, either of which could provide more adequately for rural elementary schools. Financial incentives may be adequate to hasten the day when such units are established throughout the province.¹ Of the two, the single-district division is more likely to provide for

¹Thirteen divisions and the one school area voted in favor of the single-district division on the referendum held on March 10, 1967. Upon the implementation of this plan the province will not have a school area, although the legislation provides the electors of any school division the privilege of requesting the establishment of an area. Nineteen rural school divisions voted in favor of continuing as multi-district divisions. In only half of the 14 school administrative units which voted in favor of the referendum was the number of the people residing outside of incorporated villages and towns more than half of the total division population. Five other divisions are being declared single-district school divisions by an order-in-council; no vote was held in these divisions. By and large, then, the rural electorate has not favored the adoption of the single-district school division.

the centralization of elementary schools. However, even the formation of such units is no guarantee that centralization will take place, and if the one-room schools continue to operate, district reorganization will have failed its major and only essential purpose -- to improve educational opportunity for the rural child. Even as provincial politics frustrated and delayed change in the provincial pattern of district reorganization, local politics may continue to delay the centralization of elementary schools. It seems, therefore, that some mandatory elements should be introduced in the legislation. Perhaps local administrative units should be obligated to plan centralization, culminate such a plan within a designated period of time, and be required to arrange a vote with respect to its implementation.

The significance of the role to be played by provincial central authorities with respect to the reorganization of local administrative units is substantiated by Phillips in his evaluation of the experience of British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan:

From the experience of these three western provinces, one can hardly fail to conclude that it is possible to introduce complete administrative reorganization in a short period without waiting for local initiative, and to educate public opinion after the event by practical demonstration of the advantages gained. In all these provinces, of course, and perhaps notably in British Columbia, the final legislative action was preceded by experiments with larger units of administration and by continuous publicity over a period of years on the benefits to be gained through the larger unit. But the culmination in every case was drastic action from above (21:38).

The implementation of permissive district reorganization

legislation is also related to the conditions within local districts and communities. These relationships are examined in Chapter VI.

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CHAPTER VI

LOCAL CONDITIONS AND SCHOOL DISTRICT REORGANIZATION

I. INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter it was shown that wherever extensive school district reorganization has taken place in the Canadian provinces, the related legislation usually has been mandatory rather than permissive in nature. Where permissive legislation did bring about results it was accompanied by an element of compulsion, such as the mandatory vote with respect to school divisions in Manitoba. Major reorganization was also accomplished if the local electorate had to take the initiative in opposing rather than initiating change. Such was the case with the introduction of the school units in Saskatchewan. Permissive legislation providing for the establishment of municipal school districts in Nova Scotia may have been effective due to concomitant financial advantages, largely in the form of available provincial grants.

Manitoba's relatively consistent policy with respect to permissive legislation in relation to school district reorganization has placed the onus of change upon the local electorate. The acceptance of the larger unit involves also the diminution or the elimination of the small rural school district. Hence the reorganization of school districts in a province committed to permissive legislation

depends upon, in large part, the people of the small school district. What are the conditions in school districts which would indicate a need for reorganization, and what are the conditions which would seem to encourage or hinder the process of reorganization? The question is probed in this chapter.

II. LOCAL CONDITIONS AND DISTRICT REORGANIZATION

Studies of school district reorganization, predominantly those conducted in the United States, have resulted in the identification of certain factors which are related to school district reorganization. Some of the more significant factors are: the sociological community, with reference to ethnic, religious, and economic characteristics; population density; pupil population; population mobility; the educational needs and opportunities of the community; geographic and topographical features; and, local interest and leadership in educational matters (2; 7; 10; 14; 24; 25; 28; 35).

These factors have been considered in the study of the sub-problem.

Re-statement of the Sub-problem

The second sub-problem of this thesis was to examine local conditions in selected rural districts and their relationship to school district reorganization. This involved an examination of local conditions with respect to

- 1) educational needs,
- 2) school district administration, and
- 3) community interests and activities,

with a view to discovering what relationship these conditions have to school district reorganization.

III. ANALYSIS OF LOCAL CONDITIONS

Introduction

In this part of the chapter the various aspects of the second sub-problem are examined.

Source of data. The data for this section were obtained through questionnaires to teachers and principals of nine selected rural school divisions, through questionnaires to inspectors of schools and division secretary-treasurers of all rural school divisions, and from the files of the Department of Education. The questionnaires were distributed in March, 1965. The departmental files were examined in July, 1965. Additional data with respect to rural teachers for the 1964-65 term were obtained from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Related studies were consulted.

School administrative units. By 1966 the province comprised 48 larger school administrative units; 47 school divisions and one school area. Ten divisions were single-district divisions, that is, one school board administered all elementary and secondary education

within each of the divisions.¹ Seven of these were located within metropolitan Winnipeg; Flin Flon was entirely urban; most of the school population of Kelsey originated in the town of The Pas; Frontier School Division comprised most of Manitoba's northern territory. Three of the 37 multi-district school divisions (in each of which the division board administered secondary schools only) largely comprised part of the population of metropolitan Winnipeg. The remaining 34 multi-district divisions, together with the Dauphin-Ochre School Area, represented the truly rural part of Manitoba, and that portion of the province with which this study was concerned mainly. Though Frontier School Division is largely rural in nature, its problems differ considerably from those of all other divisions in that it comprises a number of small and isolated northern communities. It was not a part of this study.

The Sample. Insofar as data were available for all of the 35 rural administrative units, some observations have been made on the total rural situation in the province. For the purpose of examining more closely the characteristics of individual school districts, questionnaires were sent to the teachers (or principals, where there was more than one teacher in a school) of all elementary schools within the school districts of nine selected rural school divisions. The one school area was included among the nine divisions. It is

¹Reorganization after March 10, 1967, should result in the formation of 19 more single-district divisions; 19 rural multi-district divisions would remain.

here referred to as a division when it is considered collectively with the other divisions, but is referred to as the area when it is singled out from the others.

The Royal Commission on Education recommended that the Boundary Commission divide the province into school divisions, taking into consideration, "area, assessment, total population, communications, and social and religious factors" (24:23). Tables XXIII to XXIX, pages 256 to 262, detail a number of the characteristics of the 35 rural divisions as they were as of 1965. The divisions did not vary to the same degree on each characteristic. Some large divisions had high assessments and others had low assessments, and so on. Variations that occurred are indicated in Table XXX, page 263. Total populations varied from 5,000 to 34,000 within a median of about 9,700. Rural populations varied from 2,300 to 12,000. There were fewer than 1,900 elementary pupils and fewer than 700 high school students in most divisions. The elementary-secondary enrolment ratio varied from 2.0 to 5.4, indicating much higher pupil retention in some divisions than in others. Though the area of the divisions varied from six to 75 townships, half comprised less than 26. The lowest assessment was just over \$4,500,000 and only half were assessed at more than \$13,760,000. Half of the divisions had two or more incorporated towns or villages, and six or more nonincorporated hamlets. The number of high school centers (though Brandon had four high schools, it was counted as one center) varied from one to ten,

TABLE XXIII

SCHOOL DIVISIONS: MAJOR ETHNIC REPRESENTATION^a

School Division	AS ^b	F	G	U	M	S	D
11 Lord Selkirk	P ^c			m			
12 Transcona-Springfield	P			m			
13 Agassiz			m	p			
14 Seine River		M					
15 Hanover					M		
16 Boundary	m		m	M			
17 Red River		M					
18 Rhineland					M		
19 Morris-Macdonald	m		m		P		
20 White Horse Plain		M					
21 Interlake	M		m	m			
22 Evergreen				P		m	
23 Lakeshore	m		m	P		m	
24 Portage la Prairie	M	m	m	m			
25 Midland	M				m		
26 Garden Valley					M		
27 Pembina Valley	M		m		m		
28 Mountain		M					
29 Tiger Hills	M					m	
30 Pine Creek	M		m				m
31 Beautiful Plains	M	m	m				
32 Turtle River	P	m	m	m			
33 Dauphin-Ochre Area No. 1	P			m			
34 Duck Mountain	m	m		P			
35 Swan Valley	P		m	m			
36 Intermountain	m	m		P		m	
37 Pelly Trail	m			m			
38 Birdtail River	P	m					
39 Rolling River	M			m		m	
40 Brandon	M						
41 Fort La Bosse	M						
42 Souris Valley	M						
43 Antler River	M						
44 Turtle Mountain	M				m		
47 Western	m				M		

^aEstimated from 1961 D.B.S. Census of Canada.

^bAS - Anglo Saxon; F - French; G - German; U - Ukrainian;
M - Mennonite; S - Scandinavian; D - Dutch.

^cM - majority; P - plurality; m - minority (more than 10% of total population).

TABLE XXIV

REPRESENTATION OF MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS BY PER CENT OF TOTAL IN EACH CATEGORY

Category	Per Cent of Manitoba Population	Anglo- Saxon	French	German	Dutch	Scandi- navian	Polish	Ukrain- ian	Menno- nite	Others
Total Province ^a	100.0	43.0	9.1	10.0	5.2	4.1	4.8	11.3	6.2 ^c	12.5
35 Rural School Divisions ^a	44.8	41.9	9.9	9.9	8.0	4.6	4.4	12.3	10.4 ^c	9.0
Total Municipalities including the 9 selected School Divisions ^a	13.2	38.5	12.3	9.0	10.7	4.8	2.5	13.9	9.8 ^c	8.3
The 9 selected School Divisions only ^b	10.4	40.9	9.0	5.9 ^d	3.5 ^d	2.0	5.5	16.5	11.1	5.6

^aD.B.S. Census of Canada, 1961.^bEstimate based on 1961 Census. This sample is approximately 73% rural, and includes about 4.4% of Manitoba's urban and 21% of Manitoba's rural population. The 9 divisions comprise School Divisions 15, 21, 23, 28, 30, 33, 34, 39, and 42.^cIncluded also in the per cent data for German and Dutch.^dEstimated Mennonite proportion not included.

SCHOOL DIVISIONS: POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

School Division	Total ^a	Population		School Enrolment	
		Urban	Rural	Elementary ^b	Secondary ^c
11 Lord Selkirk	18,300	8,600	9,700	3,490	1,020
12 Trans.-Spring.	19,800	14,200	5,600	4,230	1,360
13 Agassiz	11,700	3,700	8,000	3,160	940
14 Seine River	6,000	800	5,200	2,730	700
15 Hanover	11,800	3,700	8,100	3,170	760
16 Boundary	7,100	900	6,200	- - -	360
17 Red River	6,400	900	5,500	1,830	680
18 Rhineland	7,400	2,600	4,800	1,580	350
19 Morris-Macd.	7,300	1,400	5,900	1,490	450
20 White Horse Pl.	7,300	- - -	7,300	1,620	300
21 Interlake	10,900	2,200	8,700	1,960	740
22 Evergreen	12,500	4,600	7,900	2,030	820
23 Lakeshore	11,400	- - -	11,400	2,120	720
24 Portage la P.	19,500	12,400	7,100	3,330	1,110
25 Midland	9,700	1,900	7,800	1,760	690
26 Garden Valley	7,800	3,000	4,800	1,550	440
27 Pembina Valley	6,100	1,400	4,700	1,120	420
28 Mountain	6,600	1,800	4,800	1,500	420
29 Tiger Hills	9,800	2,200	7,600	1,560	660
30 Pine Creek	9,300	1,600	7,700	1,770	650
31 Beautiful Pl.	11,500	4,300	7,200	1,400	710
32 Turtle River	8,800	1,400	7,400	1,750	590
33 Dauphin-O. No.1	12,700	7,400	5,300	2,400	940
34 Duck Mountain	8,600	1,500	7,100	1,880	460
35 Swan Valley	13,900	4,700	9,200	2,720	960
36 Intermountain	11,900	3,300	8,600	2,360	770
37 Pelly Trail	10,400	2,300	8,100	1,880	660
38 Birdtail River	11,500	3,100	8,400	2,280	880
39 Rolling River	16,700	4,800	11,900	3,450	930
40 Brandon	34,100	28,200	5,900	5,180	1,630
41 Ft. La Bosse	12,700	3,800	8,900	2,630	810
42 Souris Valley	7,500	2,900	4,600	1,260	520
43 Antler River	7,800	2,400	5,400	1,480	580
44 Turtle Mountain	9,500	3,500	6,000	1,750	640
47 Western	5,100	2,800	2,300	940	330

^aEstimates from 1961 D.B.S. Census of Canada for rural census subdivisions.

^bDepartment of Education files for the year ending June 1965.

^cAnnual Report of the Department of Education for the year ending June 1965.

TABLE XXVI

SCHOOL DIVISIONS: AREA AND ASSESSMENT^a

School Division	Area in Townships (estimate)	Assessment for 1965 (to nearest \$'000) Division Per Tp.		No. of Municipalities requisitioned for Division School Tax
11 Lord Selkirk	16	22,702	1,419	7
12 Trans.-Spring.	12	34,391	2,866	6
13 Agassiz	68	15,591	229	12
14 Seine River	20	10,811	540	10
15 Hanover	12	13,829	1,152	7
16 Boundary	26	- - -	- - -	7
17 Red River	10	9,762	976	7
18 Rhineland	8	10,293	1,287	5
19 Morris-Macd.	18	16,417	912	8
20 White Horse Pl.	17	7,440	438	8
21 Interlake	29	15,414	531	9
22 Evergreen	26	13,764	529	11
23 Lakeshore	75	6,962	93	8
24 Portage la P.	20	26,625	1,331	5
25 Midland	25	17,944	718	11
26 Garden Valley	6	9,293	1,549	5
27 Pembina Valley	20	9,197	460	7
28 Mountain	17	7,957	468	11
29 Tiger Hills	26	12,024	462	10
30 Pine Creek	35	12,048	344	11
31 Beautiful Pl.	34	15,636	460	11
32 Turtle River	45	6,444	143	11
33 Dauphin-O. No. 1	19	16,973	893	6
34 Duck Mountain	36	4,623	128	7
35 Swan Valley	32	15,288	478	7
36 Intermountain	32	13,165	411	12
37 Pelly Trail	33	12,254	371	13
38 Birdtail River	42	16,424	391	17
39 Rolling River	41	19,817	483	17
40 Brandon	10	45,288	4,264	7
41 Ft. La Bosse	45	19,965	443	11
42 Souris Valley	30	12,870	429	16
43 Antler River	34	12,638	371	12
44 Turtle Mountain	32	15,302	481	11
47 Western	6	6,930	116	5

^aSource: Department of Education files for 1965.

SCHOOL DIVISIONS: SCHOOL DISTRICTS AND CONSOLIDATIONS^a

School Division	Number of School Districts					Number of Consolidations formed during 1958 - 1965
	Total	With one-Room Schools	With Closed Schools	Consolidated	Municipal	
11 Lord Selkirk	35	22	1	2		1
12 Trans.-Spring.	17	8	0	4		3
13 Agassiz	72	54	12	3	1	2
14 Seine River	39	15	7	5		4
15 Hanover	42	19	3	2		2
16 Boundary	37	32	-	4		2
17 Red River	16	3	3	8		7
18 Rhineland	31	20	1	2		1
19 Morris-Macd.	29	13	5	8		1
20 White Horse Pl.	24	12	0	4	1	4
21 Interlake	32	17	4	7	1	0
22 Evergreen	57	37	10	0	1	0
23 Lakeshore	103	49	42	2		0
24 Portage la P.	38	25	2	3		3
25 Midland	28	16	3	12		4
26 Garden Valley	31	14	3	0		0
27 Pembina Valley	21	9	6	6		3
28 Mountain	16	4	2	9		9
29 Tiger Hills	23	10	3	10		4
30 Pine Creek	48	30	10	7		4
31 Beautiful Pl.	49	31	11	7		1
32 Turtle River	31	12	8	5	1	4
33 Dauphin-O. No.1	44	14	18	2		-
34 Duck Mountain	53	36	9	2	1	2
35 Swan Valley	67	46	12	3		0
36 Intermountain	67	53	4	6		1
37 Pelly Trail	48	26	14	5		2
38 Birdtail River	19	3	1	15	1	1
39 Rolling River	42	20	9	12	1	6
40 Brandon	21	9	10	0		0
41 Ft. La Bosse	51	20	15	12		2
42 Souris Valley	23	9	6	9		3
43 Antler River	27	12	4	7	1	2
44 Turtle Mountain	51	34	7	6		2
47 Western	18	14	2	1		1

^aDepartment of Education files for 1965.

TABLE XXVIII

SCHOOL DIVISIONS: COMMUNITY AND SCHOOL CENTERS

School Division	Towns, Villages, and Hamlets		High School Centers	Townships per High School Center	School Districts per Tp. ^a
	Incorp- orated	Nonincorp- orated			
11 Lord Selkirk	1	1	2	8.0	2.2
12 Trans.-Spring.	1	1	2	6.0	1.4
13 Agassiz	5	3	4	17.0	1.1
14 Seine River	1	18	6	3.3	2.0
15 Hanover	1	5	5	2.4	3.3
16 Boundary	1	9	10	2.6	1.4
17 Red River	1	11	5	2.0	1.6
18 Rhineland	2	5	5	1.6	3.9
19 Morris-Macd.	1	12	6	3.0	1.6
20 White Horse Pl.	0	3	2	8.5	1.4
21 Interlake	2	14	3	9.6	1.1
22 Evergreen	5	5	3	8.6	2.2
23 Lakeshore	0	8	8	9.4	1.4
24 Portage la P.	1	3	3	6.6	1.9
25 Midland	1	7	5	5.0	1.1
26 Garden Valley	2	12	2	3.0	5.1
27 Pembina Valley	2	5	3	6.6	1.0
28 Mountain	3	7	4	4.3	1.0
29 Tiger Hills	3	6	7	3.7	0.9
30 Pine Creek	2	9	7	5.0	1.4
31 Beautiful Pl.	2	8	5	6.8	1.4
32 Turtle River	2	6	7	6.4	0.7
33 Dauphin-O. No.1	1	3	2	9.5	2.3
34 Duck Mountain	2	5	4	9.0	1.5
35 Swan Valley	4	6	5	6.4	2.1
36 Intermountain	3	0	3	10.6	2.1
37 Pelly Trail	3	5	7	4.7	1.4
38 Birdtail River	5	18	9	4.7	0.5
39 Rolling River	4	9	7	5.9	1.0
40 Brandon	1	2	1	10.0	0.5
41 Ft. La Bosse	3	6	5	9.0	1.7
42 Souris Valley	3	4	4	7.5	0.7
43 Antler River	4	5	8	4.3	0.8
44 Turtle Mountain	3	7	3	10.6	1.7
47 Western	1	1	1	6.0	3.0

^aBased on estimated number of townships per division.

TABLE XXIX

SCHOOL DIVISIONS: DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL POPULATION^a

School Division	Per Town- ship	Per High School Center	Per School District
11 Lord Selkirk	610	4,900	280
12 Trans.-Spring.	470	2,800	330
13 Agassiz	120	2,000	110
14 Seine River	260	870	130
15 Hanover	680	1,620	190
16 Boundary	240	620	170
17 Red River	550	1,100	340
18 Rhineland	600	960	150
19 Morris-Macd.	330	980	200
20 White Horse Pl.	430	3,650	300
21 Interlake	300	2,900	270
22 Evergreen	300	2,630	140
23 Lakeshore	150	1,420	110
24 Portage la P.	360	2,360	190
25 Midland	310	1,560	280
26 Garden Valley	800	2,400	150
27 Pembina Valley	240	1,560	220
28 Mountain	280	1,200	300
29 Tiger Hills	290	1,090	330
30 Pine Creek	220	1,100	160
31 Beautiful Pl.	210	1,440	150
32 Turtle River	160	1,060	240
33 Dauphin-O. No. 1	280	2,700	120
34 Duck Mountain	200	1,780	130
35 Swan Valley	290	1,840	140
36 Intermountain	270	2,860	130
37 Pelly Trail	250	1,300	170
38 Birdtail River	200	930	440
39 Rolling River	290	1,700	280
40 Brandon	590	5,900	280
41 Ft. La Bosse	200	1,780	170
42 Souris Valley	150	1,150	200
43 Antler River	160	680	200
44 Turtle Mountain	190	2,000	120
47 Western	380	2,300	130

^aBased on estimated number of townships and estimated rural population for each school division.

TABLE XXX
SCHOOL DIVISIONS: RANGE OF CHARACTERISTICS

Item	All 35 Divisions			Selected 9 Divisions		
	Low	Median	High	Low	Median	High
Population						
Total	5,100	9,700	34,100	6,600	10,800	16,600
Rural	2,300	7,200	12,000	4,600	7,700	11,900
Distribution of Rural Population						
Number per Township	120	280	800	150	280	680
Number per High School	620	1,140	5,900	1,100	1,620	2,900
Number per School District	110	190	440	110	190	300
School Enrolment						
Total	1,240	2,540	6,810	1,780	2,420	4,380
Elementary	940	1,880	5,180	1,260	2,400	3,450
Secondary (9-12)	300	700	1,630	420	720	940
Area of Division in Townships	6	26	75	12	30	75
Assessment in \$'000						
Per Division	4,623	13,764	45,288	4,623	12,870	19,817
Per Township	93	483	4,264	93	468	1,152
School Districts						
Number	16	37	103	16	42	103
One-Room Schools	3	19	54	4	19	49
Closed School Districts	0	6	42	2	9	42
Consolidated S.D.	0	5	15	2	7	12
Consolidations formed 1958-65	0	2	9	0	2	9
Community Centers						
Incorporated	0	2	5	0	2	4
Non-incorporated	0	6	18	3	7	14
High School Centers	1	5	10	2	4	8
Townships per High School Center	1.6	6.4	17.0	2.4	7.5	9.6
School Districts per Township	0.5	1.4	5.1	0.7	1.4	3.3

most divisions had five or more. In some divisions there was a high school center for every 1.6 townships, in others only one for as many as 17.0 townships.

The number of school districts in a division varied from 16 to 103; half of the divisions had 37 or more districts. The total rural population served by any one district varied from 110 to 440; the median was 190. The one-room school was found in every division; one had as many as 54. Only two divisions did not have closed school districts; some had as many as 42; the median was 6. All but three divisions had consolidated school districts. Half of the divisions had 5 or more consolidated districts, and one had as many as 15.

Nine¹ of the 35 divisions were selected for a closer examination of the conditions of school districts. The nine selected divisions satisfied the following criteria:

- 1) ethnic representation, with particular attention to the major ethnic groups, the Anglo-Saxon, the French, the Ukrainian, and the Mennonite;
- 2) geographic distribution -- representative parts of the province were included, and wherever possible selected divisions were not adjacent to one another;
- 3) variation in area -- from one of the smallest (Hanover), to the largest (Lake Shore);

¹See Figure 5, page 265.

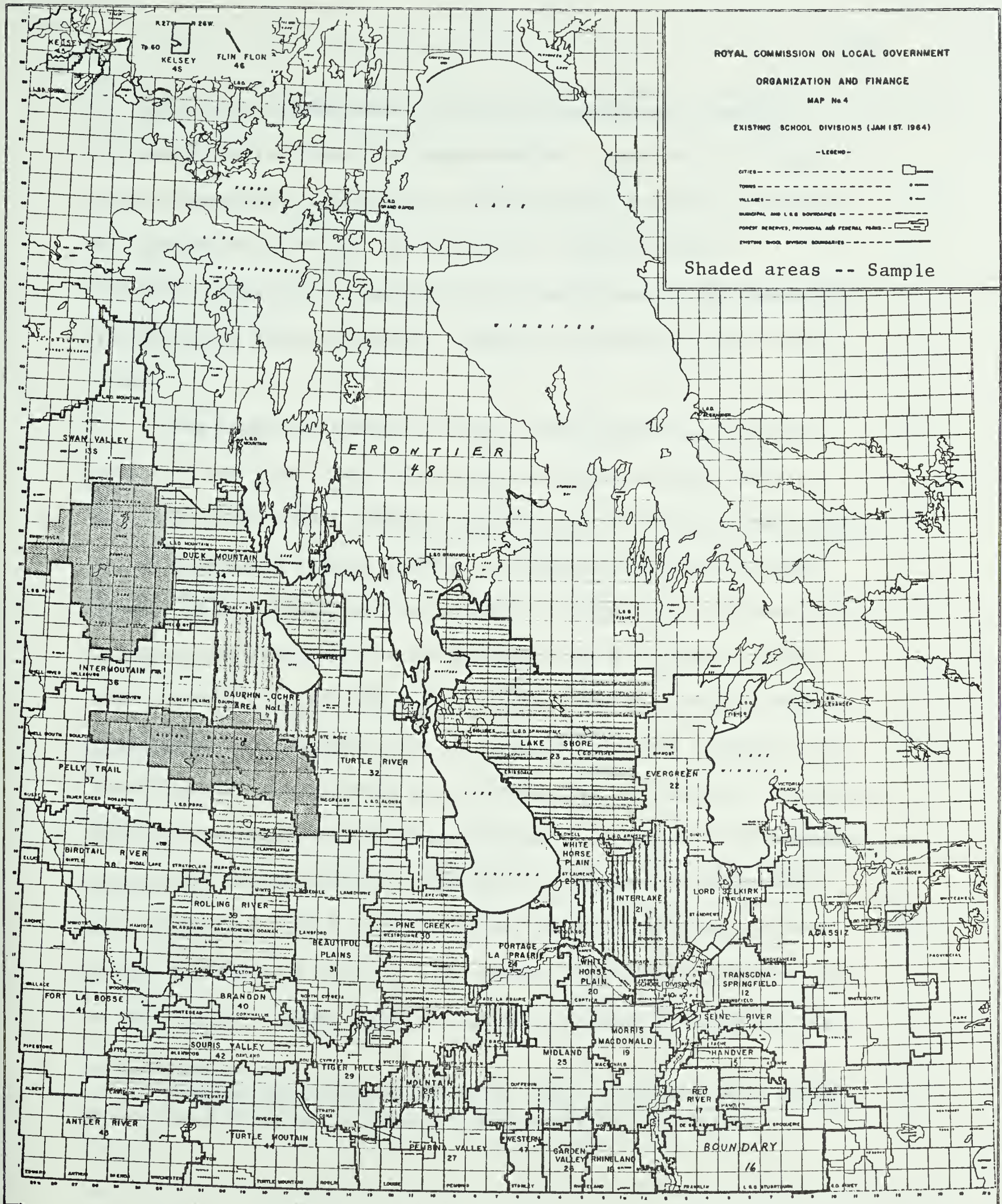


FIGURE 5
SELECTED SAMPLE OF NINE SCHOOL DIVISIONS

- 4) variation in assessment -- from \$93 to \$1152 per township;
- 5) variation in population concentration -- from one of the most densely populated rural areas, to the one most sparsely populated;
- 6) the inclusion of the one school area, Dauphin-Ochre.¹

Table XXX, page 263, indicates how the variations of the characteristics of the chosen divisions compared with those of all 35 divisions.

The number of school districts which operated a one-room school, a two-room school, and so on, is given in Table XXXII, page 268. Each school district has been represented only once, that is, if a district operated both a one-room school and a two-room school, it was counted only as a district operating a two-room school. Questionnaires were sent to the principals of all schools in the selected divisions (in the one-room school the only teacher may be regarded as the principal, but is referred to as the teacher). If more than one questionnaire was returned from any one school district, only one was considered for data purposes. On the basis of accepted questionnaires the percent of returns is indicated in Table XXXI, page 267. Thus a 66.5 per cent return was realized from one-room school districts, a 75.0 per cent return from two-room schools, and so on. It was assumed that the number of returns was adequate for

¹On the referendum of March 10, 1967, the electors of Dauphin-Ochre voted in favor of forming a single-district division.

TABLE XXXI

QUESTIONNAIRE RETURNS FROM TEACHERS -- NUMBER AND PER CENT RETURN

School Division	School Districts Operating One-Teacher Schools			School Districts Operating Two-Teacher Schools		
	No. of S.D.	No. of Returns	Per Cent Return	No. of S.D.	No. of Returns	Per Cent Return
15 Hanover	18	14	77.8	16	15	93.7
28 Mountain	4	2	50.0	1	1	100.0
42 Souris Valley	9	6	66.7	4	3	75.0
39 Rolling River	16	12	75.0	3	2	66.7
30 Pine Creek	39	21	53.8	3	2	66.7
21 Interlake	17	11	64.7	2	1	50.0
23 Lakeshore	62	37	59.7	6	3	50.0
34 Duck Mountain	45	34	75.6	1	0	00.0
33 Dauphin-Ochre	14	12	85.7	0	-	-----
Total	224	149	66.5	36	27	75.0
	Three-Teacher Schools			Four-Teacher Schools		
	No. of S.D.	No. of Returns	Per Cent Return	No. of S.D.	No. of Returns	Per Cent Return
15 Hanover	3	3	100.0	1	0	00.0
28 Mountain	2	1	50.0	3	3	100.0
42 Souris Valley	-	-	-----	-	-	-----
39 Rolling River	3	2	66.7	3	2	66.7
30 Pine Creek	1	1	100.0	-	-	-----
21 Interlake	4	2	50.0	2	2	100.0
23 Lakeshore	6	3	50.0	1	1	100.0
34 Duck Mountain	2	2	100.0	1	0	00.0
33 Dauphin-Ochre	3	2	66.7	-	-	-----
Total	24	16	66.7	11	8	72.7
	Five to Nine Teachers			Ten or More Teachers		
	No. of S.D.	No. of Returns	Per Cent Return	No. of S.D.	No. of Returns	Per Cent Return
15 Hanover	2	2	100.0	1	1	100.0
28 Mountain	2	2	100.0	2	2	100.0
42 Souris Valley	3	3	100.0	1	1	100.0
39 Rolling River	4	3	75.0	1	0	00.0
30 Pine Creek	4	4	100.0	-	-	-----
21 Interlake	4	3	75.0	1	1	100.0
23 Lakeshore	6	4	66.7	1	1	100.0
34 Duck Mountain	4	4	100.0	1	0	00.0
33 Dauphin-Ochre	-	-	-----	1	1	100.0
Total	29	25	86.2	9	7	77.8

TABLE XXXII
SIZE AND NUMBER OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Number of Teachers	All 35 Divisions ^a		Selected 9 Divisions ^b	
	No. of Schools	Per Cent of Total	No. of Schools	Per Cent of Total
1	759	63.5	149	64.5
2	160	13.4	27	11.2
1 & 2 Aggregate	919	76.9	176	75.7
3 - 6	152	12.8	---	----
7 & over	123	10.3	---	----
3 & over Aggregate	275	23.1	56	24.3
Total	1,194	100.0	232	100.0

^aDepartment of Education files, Summer 1965.

^bFrom Teacher Questionnaire returns, Spring 1965.

the purpose of the analysis conducted in this chapter. The returns from one-room schools varied from 50.0 per cent from one division, which had only four such schools, to 85.7 per cent from a division having 14 one-room school districts. About 70 per cent of all school districts to which questionnaires were sent returned replies.

The questionnaire did not require teachers to express opinions or judgments, but to state the actual conditions of the school and the school district. It was assumed that the teacher would be able to do this with greater objectivity than any other person in the community who might have been contacted. As this analysis did not involve an assessment of teacher opinions, attitudes or values, but an examination of conditions which might have been fairly obvious to any careful observer, it appeared that the number of questionnaire returns was quite adequate, and that the data were quite representative of school districts in their respective locations.

Except for minor variations, the questionnaires directed to inspectors of schools and school division secretary-treasurers were similar. Most of the questions were identical. Unlike the questionnaires to teachers, those to inspectors and secretary-treasurers solicited opinions and judgments about local conditions, as well as statements of fact. The reliability of conclusions formed upon the examination of such opinions was increased by the procedure of considering the opinion of a professional and that of a layman in educational matters. The latter was also usually a native or a

permanent resident of the division; the former may have spent only a few years, but who, in that time, had visited all schools (perhaps several times), had made contact with most of the school trustees and with many parents, and who may in fact have been much better informed about the division than the secretary-treasurer in most cases. Both persons represented informed opinion.

Twenty-six of the 35 secretary-treasurers, and 28 of 35 inspectors of schools replied. However, either a secretary-treasurer or an inspector replied for each of the 35 divisions, and for 18 divisions replies were received from each officer. That is, 80 per cent of questionnaires sent to inspectors were returned, and 74 per cent of those to secretary-treasurers were returned. It was assumed that fairly reliable conclusions could be made about the Manitoba rural scene on the basis of such returns.

An additional brief questionnaire to ascertain more recent developments was mailed to inspectors and secretary-treasurers in May of 1966. From the 35 divisions, 31 replies came from inspectors and 25 from secretary-treasurers. No reply was received from either inspector or secretary-treasurer from only one division, and replies were received from both from 22 divisions.

Procedure for Analysis

The analysis of local conditions follows the three general categories indicated in the sub-problem. The analysis is descriptive

in nature. Similarities and differences among school districts and school divisions are discussed. Each category is examined according to the following outline:

- 1) Selected criteria to assist the examination of local conditions;
- 2) Reference to the literature, with particular focus on the Canadian scene;
- 3) Examination of specific items with respect to school districts and school divisions;
- 4) Concluding statement indicating apparent relationship, or pertinence of the conditions to school district reorganization.

Educational Needs

In any analysis of local conditions the major concern may well be that with the educational needs of the community. The primary purpose of any school district is that of serving the educational needs of the children, and perhaps also of the adults, of that district.

Evaluative criteria. In order that the educational needs of a school district may be met with a measure of success, certain conditions should obtain:

- 1) an adequate pupil enrolment is required;
- 2) qualified teachers must be available;
- 3) a curriculum of some variety and scope is desirable;
- 4) specialized services (reading consultant, nurse, etc.) should be available;

5) instructional facilities must be adequate in quality and quantity (2:113; 7:12; 13:33; 15:40; 24:125; 28:350; 39:9).

Comparative references. Fitzwater stated that:

Probably the most revealing single characteristic of a local school district is the number of pupils living in it and attending schools operated by it. The size of pupil enrolment directly indicates the magnitude of the educational enterprise for which the district is responsible (15:40).

In order to provide a full range of needed educational services, Blanke recommended a school district of 10,000 to 15,000 pupils (4:1-4). Conant suggested a minimum of 1,500 to 2,000 pupils (9:77). The Local Government Continuing Committee for Saskatchewan recommended an administrative unit with an enrolment of 1,800 to 2,000 (18:31). The MacFarlane Commission for Manitoba recommended that schools be large enough so that there would be only one grade per room (24:130). Faber found a consistently high relationship between the quality of school districts and enrolment (13). Cheal found some indication that high out-put provinces had larger units of school administration (8:64). With respect to the rural high schools of Alberta, Downey found that achievement in low-enrolment schools was generally mediocre or inferior (11:47). In its report of the relative achievement of pupils in schools of various sizes, the Status Committee of the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario reviewed several studies conducted in Ontario and Alberta which found in general that pupils in larger schools rated higher than those of

smaller schools in achievement in reading, language, arithmetic and spelling (31:9-13). In its own study the Status Committee found that urban pupils were generally superior to rural pupils of comparable aptitude (31:23-29).

In the rural parts of Manitoba, as well as in the other prairie provinces, large enrolments would require considerable centralization of schools. There are limits to the extent to which this can be done as Mowat has pointed out with respect to Alberta:

Granted that some further centralization may be achieved in some areas under conditions which are currently judged to be acceptable, the inevitable limits of centralization as an early and general remedy of the small high school situation have long been indicated by rural population trends (21:54).

He further stated that:

. . . we will have to live with and make the best of many small schools for years to come. One major effort to improve rural high school education should, therefore, rest upon measures other than just centralization. This effort will require ingenuity, creativity, innovation, and money. It will be more difficult to achieve than past centralizations (21:57).

What Mowat has said with respect to rural high schools is no less true of rural elementary schools in sparsely populated parts of the provinces. The Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life for Saskatchewan pointed out that problems of distance and transportation were a deterrent to school centralization (28:342).

The availability of qualified teachers has been a problem even for high enrolment schools. It has been a greater problem for small schools. With respect to Alberta high schools Downey found that

teaching talent was "not equitably distributed between urban and rural teachers" (11:58). Qualified teachers in the elementary schools appear to affect the destiny of students in high school. According to Cheal, a higher correlation existed for pupil-retention in high school with qualification of elementary teachers than with the qualification of secondary teachers (8:58). The Manitoba Teachers' Society found that the one-room school district (of which Manitoba has had many) had difficulty in obtaining well-qualified and experienced teachers and that its teachers moved on into graded school systems (5:2-12).

Pupils have a greater chance to achieve their potential if the curriculum is adequate, specialized services are available, and instructional facilities are not lacking in quality and quantity. Worth supports the "critical years hypothesis - the assertion that the kinds of experience that a child has in the early years are the major determiners of his subsequent school career" (38:13). Worth contends that this implies that school services should be extended to children under six years of age, pupil personnel services must be broadened in scope (for example, a guidance counsellor should be in the elementary school), a wider variety of teaching-learning resources must be provided, and the teaching force must be improved in quality (38:14-16).

The kind of program recommended by Worth has had general support among educators. According to the American Association of

School Administrators an enrolment of 200 to 500 is essential to even begin the offering of a number of these services (2:113). Campbell and Garofalo stressed their importance in a coordinated grades one to twelve program (7:12). The Forty-Eight State School Systems study stressed their significance, and deplored their inevitable absence in small districts (3:51,66). The submissions by The Alberta School Trustees' Association (34), The Alberta Teachers' Association (32), and a report by Inspector Kunelius (17) essentially supported the concerns expressed by the Downey Report. Differences of opinion dealt mainly with the application of the remedy. The Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life claimed to have found a relationship between retention in high school and the comprehensiveness of the school program, the availability of guidance services, and the qualifications of the teaching force (28:350).

Though the MacFarlane Commission in its report of 1959 recognized the need for improved rural elementary schools and though it realized that an improved program might be brought about only through establishment of larger schools, it failed to recommend any action, but, on the contrary, underscored the maintenance of the status quo in elementary education by recommending that "each local school district in any Division have responsibility for elementary education within its boundaries" (24:28). In its submission to the MacFarlane Commission in 1957, The Manitoba Teachers' Society recommended the "larger area" which would give some responsibility with respect to

elementary education to the area board and retain some control for the local board (6:27). In its brief to the Michener Commission in 1963 the Society indicated that it had lost confidence in the process of local school district consolidation and recommended that all control of elementary education should rest with the Division board and that centralization of rural elementary schools was most essential if any measure of equality of educational opportunity was to be provided for rural children (5:2-72,74).

Does the reorganization of rural districts help to secure some of the objectives indicated? Though Downey's report emphasized the shortcomings of the educational program in rural Alberta, Jonason did find that major improvements indeed had occurred as he assessed the larger units fourteen years after their introduction. Among objectives which had been achieved to a considerable measure he listed the equalization of educational opportunity for elementary and secondary pupils, a better quality of instruction, and an extension of school services (16). Upon evaluating the reorganized system of local school administration in British Columbia, English concluded that schools were better staffed and better equipped and that teacher tenure had improved (12:343). He noted, however, that by no means had all districts achieved a desirable level of adequacy in the quality of the educational program (12:351).

Conditions in Manitoba school districts and divisions. The shortcomings prevailing in the small school districts since the turn of the

century were discussed in Chapter IV.¹ The program was inadequate, teacher qualifications were generally low, teacher tenure was most unstable, and the facilities were limited. The drop-out problem was quite acute in many rural schools. Consolidations improved educational opportunity during the early decades of the century, though it is no longer considered an adequate solution today. Such was the judgment of inspectors of schools and other departmental officials, of the commissions of 1919 and 1924, and of The Manitoba Teachers' Society. Furthermore, an independent judgment was that expressed in the 1966 report of the Manitoba Economic Consultative Board, that there is an educational lag in rural areas.² An attempt is made to ascertain as objectively as possible what the conditions were in rural parts of the province during recent years, ending about June, 1965.

1. Most rural schools had low enrolments.

About 759 or 63.5 per cent of all schools were staffed by only one teacher each. Only 23.1 per cent of the schools had three or more teachers. Table XXXII, page 268, illustrates that the teacher returns from the nine-division sample indicated a proportion of one-teacher schools, two-teacher schools, and larger schools almost identical to that of all 35 divisions. The distribution of enrolment-ranges in

¹See pages 119-126.

²For detailed discussion, see pages 154-55.

one-teacher schools is given in Table XXXIII, page 279. For all 35 divisions, 34 per cent of the schools had an enrolment of less than 15; 31 per cent of the one-teacher schools within the nine-division sample were in the same category, and 40 per cent of all teacher returns came from such schools. In only 11.6 per cent of the schools was the enrolment over 28, or comparable to that more common in urban classrooms.

Seventy-nine per cent of all schools in the 35 divisions had an enrolment of below 50, 88 per cent had fewer than 100 pupils, and only 6 per cent had more than 200. Every division had schools with an enrolment of 15 or fewer pupils. Only 10.3 per cent of the schools had seven or more teachers, making possible about one room for each grade. Outside of city centers, only three school districts in all 35 divisions had elementary enrolments over 1,000. For some divisions the districts having the highest elementary enrolment just passed the 200 mark; the median for maximum enrolment districts for all divisions was about 424.

Ninety-one per cent of the one-room teachers returning questionnaires taught all eight grades. In some of the divisions all one-room schools involved all eight grades. Table XXXIV, page 280, illustrates the grade and enrolment distribution for all elementary schools in Pine Creek Division.¹ This division was found to be typical with respect

¹Pine Creek defeated the referendum on March 10, 1967, which called for a single-district division organization.

TABLE XXXIII

ENROLMENT IN ONE-TEACHER SCHOOLS

Enrolment Range	All 35 Divisions ^a			Selected 9 Divisions ^a			Teacher Questionnaire Returns from 9 Divisions		
	No. of Schools	% in each Enrolment Range	No. of Divisions in each Range	No. of Schools	% in each Enrolment Range	No. of Divisions in each Range	No. of Schools	% in each Enrolment Range	No. of Divisions in each Range
1 - 7	20	2.5	10	10	4.7	2	2	1.3	2
8 - 14	252	31.5	34	56	26.3	8	58	38.9	8
15 - 21	295	36.9	34	80	37.4	8	46	30.9	9
22 - 28	156	19.5	32	42	19.8	7	35	23.5	8
29 - 34	59	7.4	26	19	8.9	5	6	4.0	5
35 +	17	2.2	11	6	2.9	3	2	1.3	2
Total	799	100.0	--	213	100.0	--	149	100.0	--

^aSource: Department of Education files, June 1965.

TABLE XXXIV
ENROLMENT IN THE ELEMENTARY GRADES OF PINE CREEK DIVISION^a

School	G R A D E S								Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
Arizona	2	2	2	-	3	4	1	3	17
Austin Cons.	23	27	26	24	33	29	28	24	214
Bagot	1	3	5	4	6	1	5	3	28
Bear Creek	-	4	3	1	2	4	3	1	18
Berton	5	3	2	3	3	5	1	7	29
Blake	-	1	-	3	1	3	-	2	10
Deseronto	1	-	3	2	1	3	1	2	13
Edrans	7	2	4	4	1	4	3	6	31
Elsmith	1	2	2	-	-	4	-	5	14
Gillespie	2	4	3	-	4	4	1	3	21
Gladstone	32	27	22	22	29	26	20	24	202
Golden Stream	2	2	3	8	3	5	6	7	36
Keyes	2	3	1	-	-	-	2	1	9
Lakeside	3	1	2	2	-	5	1	2	16
Langruth Cons.	10	17	5	15	11	12	11	8	89
MacGregor Cons.	51	50	45	38	50	47	38	46	365
Maitland	1	1	3	3	2	2	1	5	18
North Lakeland	1	2	3	2	1	2	-	4	15
Orangeville	-	1	3	1	4	3	2	4	18
Palestine	3	5	4	2	2	3	5	1	25
Pembroke	1	-	3	2	2	1	3	2	14
Plumas Cons.	22	20	17	25	11	26	14	21	156
Preston	3	1	3	2	2	-	2	1	14
Rossendale Cons.	24	21	19	19	19	15	21	17	155
Sidney	6	7	5	4	2	8	4	4	40
Sight Hill	1	1	-	4	-	3	-	1	10
Silver Stream	-	2	4	6	2	2	3	1	20
Soudan	-	1	-	2	2	4	2	2	13
Spruce Hills Cons.	5	6	6	2	7	4	3	5	38
Steele Bridge	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	1	12
Tenby	3	4	3	4	2	-	3	2	21
Tupper (East school)	5	-	2	1	1	1	-	3	13
Tupper (West school)	3	3	-	3	1	2	4	3	19
Valley Stream	3	8	5	3	1	2	4	1	27
Westbourne	7	7	9	10	10	9	8	8	68
Woodside	3	3	2	1	3	2	2	-	16
Total	235	244	220	223	223	246	203	230	1824

^aData as of December 31, 1965.

to many of the characteristics of Manitoba school divisions, that is, its characteristics were found to cluster about the median of those for all divisions. The table illustrates the enrolment per grade pattern for most of the schools. In many schools only one or two pupils were found in one or more of the grades. Only one of the schools, MacGregor, had an enrolment high enough to make possible one room for each grade. Nevertheless, the larger schools could serve as centralization centers within the school division. Lakeshore School Division, the largest in area, was found to have one-teacher schools in 81 per cent of its operating 62 school districts; 42 of its districts were no longer operating schools.

Table XXXV, page 282, illustrates the distribution of grades and enrolment in the schools of the municipal school district of Elton, located within the school division of Rolling River. Though the district was formed in 1959, it has continued to operate six relatively small schools. Eleven of 17, or 65 per cent, of the returns from teachers teaching in municipal school districts found within the nine-division sample came from teachers of one-room schools.

Though no school division had fewer than 300 high school students, and though the median high school enrolment for the 35 divisions was about 700, only nine per cent of the high schools outside of metropolitan Winnipeg and Brandon had an enrolment of 300 or more students. Though most of the one-room high schools have been eliminated since the establishment of school divisions in 1959, the problems associated with

TABLE XXXV
ENROLMENT IN THE ELEMENTARY GRADES OF THE MUNICIPAL
SCHOOL DISTRICT OF ELTON^a

School	G R A D E S								Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
Chater	2	2	2	5	2	2	-	-	15
Douglas	6	13	7	13	14	14	10	11	88
Glantton	2	4	2	3	7	-	-	-	18
Justice	2	5	5	3	5	7	7	8	42
Moore Park	1	4	3	2	2	-	-	-	12
Turriff	11	13	10	14	7	14	21	17	107
Totals	24	41	29	40	37	37	38	36	282

^aEnrolment reported for the 1965-66 school term.

the centralization of high schools have not yet been solved. Table XXXVI, page 283, shows the distribution of high schools according to enrolment for what is largely rural Manitoba. A rough comparison with Alberta indicates that the problem of centralization of schools is not unique to Manitoba. The two provinces are similar in the urban-rural population distribution. According to the 1961 census, 36.1 per cent of the Manitoba and 36.7 of the Alberta population was rural. It appears, however, that the Manitoba rural population is concentrated

TABLE XXXVI

DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH SCHOOLS BY SIZE

Enrolment	Manitoba, ^a June 1959		Manitoba, ^a June 1965		Alberta, ^b Sept. 1965	
	Number of Schools	Per Cent	Number of Schools	Per Cent	Number of Schools	Per Cent
1 - 39	183	66.3	29	16.3	81	25.6
40 - 99	71	25.7	59	33.2	132	41.8
100 - 199	15	5.4	61	34.2	66	20.9
200 - 299	2	0.7	13	7.3	14	4.4
300 - 399	1	0.4	7	3.9	16	5.1
400 & over	4	1.5	9	5.1	7	2.2
Totals	276	100.0	178	100.0	316	100.0

^aAll schools with the exception of those in metropolitan Winnipeg, Transcona, and Brandon.

^bAll public and separate schools with the exception of those in Edmonton and Calgary (11:20).

on a smaller area of land proportionately with respect to Alberta. The provision for separate high schools no doubt adds to Alberta's problem of small high schools, a problem Manitoba does not face. It is apparent, nevertheless, from an examination of the table, that the establishment of school divisions in Manitoba is related to the reduction of the number of small high schools. In June of 1959, a few months following the vote on the division issue, 66.3 per cent of all high schools (outside of metropolitan Winnipeg and Brandon) had an enrolment below 40, and most of these, 57.2 per cent of all schools, were one-room high and continuation schools. Six one-room high schools were located very close to Winnipeg, on lands which became part of the metropolitan school divisions. As of June 1965, only 21, or 11.8 per cent of all the high schools were one-room schools. Several of these were closed and not re-opened in September of 1965. It could be that the establishment of one-district school divisions would bring about the elimination of one-room elementary schools as well, even though extensive centralization is by no means assured.

2. Teacher qualifications and tenure was lower in one-room schools.

It can be seen from Table XXXVII, page 285, that there was no obvious difference between the certification of elementary teachers in rural Manitoba and that of the teachers in the nine-division sample. Neither was there any significant difference between the certification of the 825 one-room school teachers of the province and that of the

TABLE XXXVII

DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL ELEMENTARY TEACHERS ACCORDING TO CERTIFICATION

Class	All Elementary Teachers			Teachers of One-Room Schools Only			
	Province ^a Number	Per Cent	9-Division Sample ^b Number	Per Cent	9-Division Sample ^b Number	Per Cent	Province ^c Per Cent of <u>all</u> Elementary Teachers in this <u>Class</u>
Degree	35	1.2	4	0.6	0	0.0	2 0.3 5.7
I ^d	2,544	84.4	612	86.2	172	78.9	644 78.0 25.3
II ^e	265	8.8	64	9.0	24	11.0	95 11.5 35.9
Permit ^f	155	5.1	29	4.1	22	10.1	68 8.3 42.6
Other ^g	13	0.4	1	0.1	0	0.0	16 1.9 ----
Totals	3,012	100.0	710	100.0	218	100.0	825 100.0 ----

^aAll elementary teachers excluding those in metropolitan Winnipeg, Brandon, Portage la Prairie, and Flin Flon. (Compiled from data obtained from the Manitoba Teachers' Society.)

^bAll elementary teachers in the nine divisions. (Compiled from teacher rosters obtained from the Manitoba Teachers' Society.)

^cSource: obtained by request from D.B.S. The rural elementary teachers, totalling 3,012 include only 805 of the 825 reported by D.B.S. Eighteen of the 20 can be accounted for by excluding Brandon and Transcona-Springfield divisions in order to exclude city teachers from the total number.

^dClass I teachers have a minimum of senior matriculation and one year of professional training.

^eClass II teachers have junior matriculation and one year of professional training. Class II certificates have not been issued for more than 25 years.

^fTeachers with permits have not completed the minimum academic or professional training required in order to be certified.

^gVocational certificates and letters of authority.

218 teachers within the nine-division sample. There was, however, a difference between the certification of one-room rural school teachers and that of all rural elementary teachers. A lower proportion of teachers with Class I certificates and a higher proportion with Class II certificates and permits were found in the one-room schools. It is understandable that rural elementary teachers with degrees would likely be principals of rural town schools, and that they cannot be expected to be found in the one-room schools. However, though about 27 per cent of the teachers were in one-room schools, 35.9 per cent of all Class II teachers, and 42.6 of all permit teachers taught in such schools. Four of the nine divisions in the sample had one-room schools with permit teachers. About ten per cent of all one-room school teachers in three of the divisions, and nearly one-fifth of those in Lakeshore division held permits.

The teachers who returned questionnaires appeared fairly representative of all one-room school teachers in the province. Table XXXVIII, page 287, illustrates that there was no striking difference between the sample and the total group. About 20.8 per cent of all one-room school teachers, a total of 172, were teaching in their first schools. However, less than half, 48.7 per cent of the one-room schools retained the teachers of the previous year, and only about 30 per cent retained their teachers for more than two years. This indicates a lively turn-over of teachers in one-room schools.

TABLE XXXVIII

EXPERIENCE AND TENURE OF RURAL ONE-ROOM SCHOOL TEACHERS

Years	Experience		Tenure Within Present District	
	Total ^a	9-Division Sample ^b	Total ^a	9-Division Sample ^b
	(N=825)	(N=149)	(N=825)	(N=149)
	%	%	%	%
1	20.84	18.79	48.72	42.28
2	10.18	8.72	21.57	24.16
3	6.30	8.05	9.93	10.74
4	6.18	5.37	5.45	4.03
5	6.88	7.38	4.84	9.40
6 - 15	36.36	36.91	9.08	8.72
16 & over	18.32	14.77	0.36	0.00

^aAll elementary teachers, excluding those in metropolitan Winnipeg, Brandon, Portage la Prairie, and Flin Flon. (Source: obtained by request from D.B.S.)

^bCompiled from Teacher Questionnaire returns.

Of all one-room school teachers who returned questionnaires, 38.9 per cent were male (37.6 per cent of all 218 teachers of one-room schools in the nine divisions were male). Sixty-one per cent of all the teachers were married. In Hanover 79 per cent of all teachers in this class were male. In Interlake 95 per cent were female, and 82 per cent of the teachers were married. Most of the teachers holding Class II certificates were married females, and most of these were located in divisions with higher Anglo-Saxon ethnicity.

Of the 149 teachers returning questionnaires, only 32 per cent indicated that they would like to remain in the same school for another year. Only 5 per cent said that they would like to move to another one-room school, 9 per cent that they would like to move to a larger rural school, and 50 per cent to a town school. Thirty per cent of the teachers had not managed to get to one teachers' local meeting during the term, and only 34 per cent had been to three or more meetings.

The evidence seems to indicate that one-room schools do not get their share of more qualified teachers, that their teachers are extremely mobile, and that their teachers aspire to move to a larger school.

3. Small schools lacked comprehensiveness in curriculum.

Teachers reporting from 232 districts indicated that they saw

the need for instruction in subject areas which pupils of their schools were not getting. Twelve per cent of the districts reported no instruction in art, 22 per cent no instruction in handicrafts, and 49 per cent none in music. The actual proportions of districts not offering instruction in these areas may have been greater, as it is likely that not all rural teachers perceived such instruction as necessary for their pupils. This assumption is supported by the fact that only 16 per cent of the districts reported that their pupils lacked instruction in a second language as a need which should be provided, though 25 per cent of the school districts had given no second language instruction. Sixty-seven per cent of districts with one-room schools and ninety per cent of the districts having two-room schools or larger, had provided such instruction. Sixty-nine of the 232 districts perceived a lack in one or more areas of the school program. This lack was expressed by the principals of the larger rural schools as much as, or more so than, by teachers of one-room schools. This may indicate that the more experienced (and better qualified) teachers of larger schools are also more aware of shortcomings in curricular offerings.

Twenty-two per cent of the teachers of one-room schools reported pupil absenteeism due to lack of interest, and 28 per cent reported drop-outs for the same reason. Ten of 28 inspectors indicated that the older pupils dropped out of one-room schools in greater proportion than they did in village or town schools; 13 inspectors indicated

that the proportions were about the same for their divisions, and nine felt that there were few drop-outs in any of the schools. Similarly the inspectors indicated that the proportion of pupils discontinuing school after the completion of the elementary grades was about the same or greater for rural districts than for schools in villages or towns. Nine indicated that for their divisions there were few pupils who discontinued.

The older pupil, age 15 or older, is not best served in the one-room rural school. Thirty-five per cent of the schools had one or two such pupils, and only five per cent of the districts had three or more. Such students were potential drop-outs at least for social reasons. A district which does not offer a coordinated elementary and secondary program may not be bridging the gap effectively for the young adolescent.¹ The raising of the mandatory attendance age to sixteen has helped to solve the drop-out problem in part in that pupils stay in school long enough to be introduced to high school, after which more of them are motivated to continue through high school.

4. Specialized services were lacking in the small rural schools.

Out of 149 one-room schools 90 per cent indicated the need for assistance in one or more of four areas, and 40 per cent of the

¹Inspectors have reported this problem in reports to the Department. See discussion on page 123.

districts in two or more of the four areas, with respect to instruction. Fourteen per cent of 232 districts indicated the need for assistance with respect to bright pupils, 63 per cent with respect to slow learners, 48 per cent for pupils having special difficulties in reading and 28 per cent in arithmetic. There was no significant difference between the needs expressed by smaller and larger schools. The simple fact is that there have been no specialists available for any of the rural divisions.

The per cent of the 232 districts which expressed the need for assistance with respect to other kinds of problems were as follows: pupils with social problems, 30 per cent; emotional problems, 33 per cent; visual defects, 16 per cent; hearing defects, 5 per cent; speech defects, 26 per cent; and health problems, 8 per cent. Seventy per cent of the 149 one-room schools indicated the need for assistance with respect to one or more of these problem areas, and 30 per cent with respect to two or more. The incidence of problems reported for larger schools was as great as, or more than that, for the smaller schools. It may be assumed that principals in larger schools were more aware of problems which require attention.

Sixty-seven of the one-room schools reported having received the visit of a doctor or a nurse during the school year. In one division as few as 19 per cent of the schools had received such a visit; two divisions reported such a visit to all of the included

schools. Such attention with respect to the health of pupils was more common in larger schools. Of two to four room schools 75 per cent were visited, and of five-room or larger schools 84 per cent were covered.

Twenty-eight per cent of the one-room schools reported that older pupils had dropped out of schools due to weakness on the part of the pupils in school work.

Out of 28 inspectors reporting, 16 indicated that pupils with special problems generally received less attention in rural schools than in village and town schools. Five inspectors reported that there was no difference, and eight indicated that such pupils got little attention in any of the schools.

Not counting the city districts within rural Manitoba (Transcona, Portage, and Brandon) only 14 divisions were reported by inspectors and secretary-treasurers as having at least one school with a supervising principal (one teaching less than half time). Only one division, the Dauphin-Ochre School Area, reported having the services of a supervisor of instruction. It is evident that in rural Manitoba elementary teachers have had very little assistance from subject matter specialists or from consultants and counsellors.

5. Instructional facilities in rural schools were not adequate.

Returns from inspectors and secretary-treasurers indicated that in 32 of the 35 divisions the equipment, supplies, and library

in classrooms of rural districts was generally less adequate than in classrooms of village or town schools. In one division only, both the inspector and the secretary-treasurer indicated that the conditions were equal. From a list of seven teaching aids, 63 per cent of the one-room schools indicated that they had at least two of them, and 25 per cent had more than two. Seven per cent had none. Some of the larger schools had all seven. The average number of teaching aids per school according to school size was as follows:

Number of Teachers in School	1	2	3	4	5 or more
Average Number of Aids per School	1.9	2.3	3.5	4.0	4.6

The per cent of 232 school districts having each of the following aids were:

Teaching Aid	Per Cent of Districts
Radio	80.6
Record Player	50.4
Strip-film (or slide) projector	13.8
Movie projector	28.9
Television	5.2
Tape recorder	5.2
Duplicator	57.3

One division, Hanover, reported fewer of the aids than any of the other divisions. Mountain and Souris Valley led the divisions in the degree of acquisition of teaching aids for their schools. Only nine divisions, excepting divisions with city schools, reported

having schools with secretarial or clerical assistance.

Consequently, schools of one-fifth of the districts were not able to take advantage of educational radio broadcasts. Very few schools could observe television programs prepared for educational purposes. The schools of only 14 per cent of the districts could take advantage of the excellent library of strip-films available from the Department of Education. Most of the schools had no opportunity to enrich their programs by film showings.

Only 34 per cent of the one-room schools had 300 or more volumes in their libraries. In one division, Hanover, only 14 per cent of the schools had as many. For an eight-grade school this averages to about 35 books per grade. As only a few new books are added each year, and as the pupils have been exposed to the same small library for many years, there is little novelty in it for them. Nine per cent of the one-room schools had fewer than 100 books in the library, and only 6 per cent had more than 500. Many of the larger rural schools fared no better. Sixty-three per cent of the districts having two to four room schools, and 34 per cent of those having schools with five or more rooms, had fewer than 300 volumes in their libraries. Eighty-eight per cent of the one-room schools made use of other sources to supplement their libraries. Of the 232 districts, including schools of all sizes, 34 per cent made no use of another source, seven per cent took advantage of a local community library, seven per cent had access to a travelling library,

and 50 per cent obtained books through a mail-order library service.

One inspector made the following comment:

The town district in all cases provides better facilities in laboratory equipment, music, visual aids and physical education, plus a better general educational opportunity.

Another stated:

An increasing number of families are making inquiries about getting their children enrolled in the larger schools. They realize the advantages. Some are willing to pay non-resident fees.¹

Conclusion. The judgment of inspectors of schools and of educational commissions has been that the small rural school district has not provided adequately for the educational needs of rural children. Low enrolments in the schools, and particularly low enrolments per grade, and the many grades per teacher proved to be handicaps. Current conditions are similar, and when the one-room school is compared with the larger school, its adequacy is questionable. The small schools generally have had teachers with lesser qualifications and experience and also have suffered lower teacher tenure. The educational program generally has been the bare minimum which any one teacher can offer. Many pupils in small schools have not received adequate instruction in subjects such as music and art. The challenge to the older pupil in the small school, often out of place in a school with mostly younger children, has been lacking. Limited social experience becomes all the more acute for the young adolescent. Specialized

¹Responses on Questionnaire returns.

teaching service simply has not been available. Instructional aids have been few in number, and the services provided through provincial radio and television programs have fallen amiss of the small school which in many instances had no radio, and perhaps without exception no television. The small school generally has had an inadequate library. The small rural school generally has provided inadequately for the child and has proven unattractive to the teacher whose ambition has been to move to an urban school at the earliest opportunity.

School Administration and the School District

Providing for the educational needs of a school district involves administration. This comprises that kind of activity which ensures that funds are secured, accommodation and facilities are provided, transportation is arranged, and qualified staff are engaged.

Evaluative criteria. In order that provision may be made for the educational needs of a school district, certain conditions associated with administrative activity should obtain:

- 1) school boards should be aware of the needs of the school and take effective action to meet such needs;
- 2) an alert and informed electorate enhances the probability of an effective board;
- 3) pupil transportation is a desirable or essential service;
- 4) the per pupil cost for equivalent provisions should bear a

reasonable relationship to the average for the province;

5) the taxable wealth of the district should be sufficient to support an adequate educational program within the provincial plan of school financing (1:8; 2:23; 12:341; 20:273-5; 23:74; 24:22; 28:342; 29:251).

Comparative references. How effective can school boards be? English indicated that prior to 1945 a large number of districts were placed under the direction of official trustees in British Columbia, and that "these officials invariably brought about improved conditions for the schools and restored loss of confidence and harmony within the school district" (12:147). Reorganized larger districts attracted a "better calibre of trustee" and boards became more legislative and less managerial in function (12:341). The brief of the Manitoba Teachers' Society to the Michener Commission emphasized that administrative units must be large enough so that school boards can delegate administrative duties to professional personnel (5:2-77). More than three decades ago, D. S. Woods, as inspector of schools, commented on the lack of sufficient administrative ability on the part of rural school trustees (23:74).

It is claimed that the same board should administer both the elementary and secondary school program so that duplication of services might be avoided (2:92). On the other hand, the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life a decade ago recommended that

individual boards be retained for every operating school within the larger units (28:360).

The Michener Report referred to the need for a clear-cut demarcation of responsibility between the province and the local government authority so that the elector might be "better informed and consequently more interested." The Report stated that:

In the present confusion of inter-governmental responsibility, the voter, although dissatisfied, tends to be apathetic as has been demonstrated by the poor turn-out of voters to elect councillors and trustees, and the numerous acclamations (25:9).

It seems that the province must provide the leadership in executing such reorganization that the areas of responsibility may be clarified. English claimed that local initiative would not have implemented larger areas of school administration for many years in either of Alberta or Saskatchewan, and hence he defended the action of the government of British Columbia (12:27). An example of this kind of local inertia is illustrated in the submission to the Michener Commission by the Rural Municipality of Riverside:¹

While our governments have been reluctant to interfere with local autonomy, it is not surprising to find many municipalities with their original school districts still in existence, either as operating or closed districts. Some of our villages and incorporated towns have still not made an adjustment to rectify the changed conditions, although this took place Seventy Years ago (33:7).

A decade ago the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life concluded that the small municipality was no longer the "stronghold of local democracy" (29:251). The claim would be just

¹Turtle Mountain School Division, in which Riverside is situated, rejected the single-district division plan on March 10, 1967.

as true of small school districts. The Michener Commission held that "distance and poor roads no longer excuse such a multiplicity of school boards" for Manitoba (25:65).

Districts have limited resources and hence are concerned about the cost of education. Faber found that "an inverse relationship exists between enrolment and cost per pupil" (13:34). Small schools are most costly to operate. Faber said that because of the varying practices in methods of school support "no one can say with exactitude what an adequate financial base is" (13:34). Many current programs of school financing incorporate the "foundation program," which provides for a uniform tax levy over the whole province with the residual balance required paid by the province. In this way the cost of education is equalized between school districts in that the whole province becomes the financial base. The tax rate has varied considerably from district to district in Manitoba (5:3-75). Nelson found school districts in less prosperous parts of Manitoba quite unable to bear the cost of an adequate program (22:42). Ross emphasized that:

If districts are so small, poor, or sparsely populated that they cannot, in fact, perform an acceptable job in local control of schools, it is no service to democracy or adaptability for the state legislature to continue to delegate authority to them (26:104).

Conditions in Manitoba school districts and divisions. The judgment of inspectors of schools was that many boards of small rural

school districts were not particularly competent.¹ Many boards had to be prodded continually so that they might keep buildings in reasonable repair and provide even basic minimums with respect to books and equipment. Official trustees by and large provided more satisfactory service. Conditions were generally better in consolidated districts. Though these also provided a wider tax base and resulted in some equalization of cost, the degree of such provision is considered quite inadequate for the present day. Trustees generally have been hesitant to accept change or to give up the concept of control at the small district level. Though their claims were reinforced by the recommendations of the MacFarlane Commission in 1958, the Michener Commission recommended extensive reduction of the powers of the school boards of small rural districts.² In the following pages an attempt is made to assess the adequacy of small district administration according to data obtained during 1965 and 1966.

1. School boards in small districts have not provided adequately for schools.

An example of an ineffective local school board was given in Chapter IV.³ The inspector of schools drew the board's attention to

¹See pages 124-25.

²See pages 140-43.

³See page 125.

elementary things such as repairs that should be done to the stable and the outdoor toilets, and to the need for a pail for drinking water. In the same chapter it was pointed out that inspectors of schools generally were not satisfied with the performance of local boards, and that conditions in school districts under the control of official trustees were generally better.

The only measure that is used here to ascertain to some degree the effectiveness of the local board is an examination of the provision for the local school. Replies from 28 inspectors indicated that 16 judged the maintenance of school yards of rural districts to be poorer than that of village and town schools. Nine inspectors judged the maintenance to be about the same for their divisions. Twenty-one considered the maintenance of classrooms in rural schools to be poorer, and only six thought that it was about equal to that in larger schools. It was pointed out earlier in this chapter that 22 inspectors rated the provision of equipment and supplies in rural schools to be poorer and only four equal to that of larger schools.

According to the replies of teachers and principals, provision for schools was generally more adequate in larger schools than in the one-room schools, as is indicated by Table XXXIX, page 302. There was little difference in the degree of service provided by school boards and by official trustees. It appears that the provision of supplies was somewhat more adequate for schools under official trustees. On the other hand, it may be that the local school board was more

TABLE XXXIX

LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD ACTIVITY^a

Item	One-Room Schools			Official Trustee Schools Only (N=23)	2 to 4 Room Schools (N=51)	Schools with 5 or more Teachers (N=32)
	All Schools (N=149)	Range within Divisions	%			
1. Supply provision adequate	81	64 - 100	87		86	100
2. School property care satisfactory	36	0 - 67	35		47	53
3. Some improvements made to yard and building within the last year	68	42 - 83	61		73	75
4. Some improvements with respect to supplies and equipment	81	67 - 100	83		94	91
5. Teacher ^b is acquainted with all Board members	73	62 - 86	--		63	84
6. Teacher ^b attends Board meetings regularly	15	0 - 36	18		35	41
7. Board requests teacher to indicate school needs regularly	77	50 - 100	74		80	88
8. Services supplied by School Division Board ^c	12	0 - 50	9		29	41
9. Pupil transportation provided	13	0 - 25	9		55	75

^aTeacher Questionnaire returns from 232 districts.^bFor schools with more than one teacher, this item applies to the principal only.^cTransportation was the only services reported in all but a few cases.

effective in bringing about improvements to the yard and building in general. Though only 15 per cent of the teachers were invited to attend meetings of the board regularly, 77 per cent indicated that the board invited them to make the needs of the school known to the board. Very few of the one-room school districts, but more of the larger districts, made arrangements with the division school board for certain services. The most common service provided was that of pupil transportation. In a few instances the division boards purchased school supplies in quantity for some of the local boards.

Though 68 per cent of the one-room districts indicated that some improvement had been made to the yard and building during the last year, a break-down for 232 school districts (including the larger schools) for such items as improvements with respect to the school yard, the school, the classroom, sanitary facilities, heating, and lighting, indicated that the proportion of districts which made any one of these improvements ranged from 8 to 29 per cent among the divisions. Though 81 per cent of the 232 districts indicated that some improvements had been made with respect to supplies and equipment, only 34 per cent reported that new equipment had been added, 27 per cent that the quantity of supplies had improved, and 58 per cent that at least fifty dollars value in books had been added to the library. It is evident that many things were lacking in the schools, and this may well be in part the reason why teachers of one-room schools indicated that they would prefer to move into the larger schools at the

earliest opportunity.

It appears that very good as well as poor provisions can be found in the one-room district, depending upon the school board and the people in the district. An example of this is illustrated by an inspector's comment: "Some of the best kept school yards are in rural districts, on the other hand, the most neglected school yards are also in rural districts."¹

2. Small school districts may have alert and informed electorates.

No attempt is made here to ascertain the degree to which the electorates of small rural districts are alert or informed. A comment volunteered by an inspector may suffice:

Rural folk no longer contest the fact that graded instruction is superior, but they cannot reconcile the fact that they must surrender the rural school to have graded instruction.

Many rural districts still would wish fondly that they can upgrade their schools to match the larger schools . . . they would foolishly spend thousands of dollars to install indoor plumbing, buy new furniture, etc., but they realize the absurdity when they come to items such as auditorium, visual education, libraries, science rooms, etc.

Some are still so dyed in the wool that they would spend any sum, as long as they could keep their school.¹

Another inspector remarked that "The grant system, for maintenance, supplies, etc., has made it possible for rural schools to keep well up with town schools in many respects."¹ This may be why, according to Table XXXIX, 81 per cent of all one-room teachers judged the

¹Responses to Questionnaire.

provision of supplies adequate, and the same proportion indicated that improvements had been made with respect to supplies and equipment during the term.

The 23 schools under official trustees, indicated in Table XXXIX, included only those which were not in municipal school districts. In all some 28 returns from the nine divisions came from teachers of one-room schools under official trustees. Returns from inspectors indicated as many as 123 districts under official trustees for all 35 divisions.¹ In several school divisions the number of districts under official trustees was one quarter or one third, and in at least one division one-half of the total. The number of districts which failed to elect and maintain local boards may be a reflection upon the electorate itself. Returns from inspectors and secretary-treasurers in 12 divisions indicated a lack of interest in local self-government, and in 8 divisions a lack of community unity on school matters as reasons for the operation of local districts by official trustees. Some of the schools under the official trustee were Hutterite schools. Twenty-eight, or 82 per cent of the returns from 34 schools under official trustees were one-room schools.

3. Most one-room rural districts have not provided for pupil transportation.

¹Most of these districts were turned over to division school boards for administrative purposes towards the close of 1966.

Only 13 per cent of the one-room schools were provided with pupil transportation. However, in only 10 per cent of the schools did all of the pupils walk to school. In only nine of the 149 schools, about seven per cent, did any of the pupils come to school by a horse-drawn vehicle. In eleven per cent of the schools all the pupils were transported to school by members of the family, and family transportation was provided for at least some of the pupils in 89 per cent of the schools. Though the budgets of such districts did not include transportation expenses, such costs were nevertheless being borne by most of the families of such districts.

In only 11 of the 149 one-room districts did some pupils reside five or more miles from school. In 92 per cent of the districts all pupils resided within a four-mile radius, in 74 per cent within three miles, and in 30 per cent of the districts within 2 miles.

4. The cost of operating low-enrolment schools appeared to be excessive.

From the budget obtained for the Turtle Mountain School Division it was possible to construct Table XL, page 307. From the table it is apparent that the highest cost per pupil was encountered in the one-room schools with very low enrolment. Though the table does not illustrate a consistent relationship between school enrolment and cost per pupil, a trend is indicated, and the average cost of \$281 per pupil for schools having an enrolment of over 100 each

TABLE XL

GROSS COST PER PUPIL FOR THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
OF TURTLE MOUNTAIN SCHOOL DIVISION^a

Enrolment	Number of Schools	Number of Pupils	Gross Cost per Pupil	Range in Cost for the Schools
7 - 10	4	36	\$573	\$460 - 670
11 - 15	15	185	375	309 - 447
16 - 20	7	123	284	203 - 366
21 - 30	5	114	227	179 - 278
31 - 60	4	193	430	354 - 565
61 - 100	3	231	335	233 - 403
101 - 378	4	928	281	223 - 389
Total	42	1810	316	179 - 670

^aSource: Turtle Mountain School Division budget for 1966.

compared favorably with the average cost of \$316 per pupil for all of the schools in the division. The cost varied from division to division. Nine divisions volunteering information about this item indicated a range from \$224 to \$411 per elementary pupil, with a median cost of \$264. For example, the comparative cost per pupil in Brandon was \$411 as compared to \$317 for Assiniboine North.

The major extravagant cost for the low-enrolment school seemed to be that of the teacher's salary. However, this cost was off-set in part for the district because the provincial grant absorbed the greater share of the salary cost, thus distributing it upon all the tax-payers.

Of the one-room schools 68 per cent were 20 years or older. Thus the small districts did not have the capital costs which districts with growing schools have, nor did most of the one-room school districts budget for transportation costs. Such elements would have to be considered in order to arrive at an adequate comparison of per pupil costs in small and larger schools. In addition to this, most rural districts did not provide services beyond that allowed for grant purposes. With the exception of Transcona-Springfield and Brandon divisions, the number of employed teachers was in almost every case exactly, or nearly exactly, that of the number authorized for grant purposes. This was not the case in metropolitan school divisions where the number of teachers employed exceeded the number authorized in each case. The provision of some of the needs which

teachers indicated for rural schools, were met in part in the urban schools by the provision of additional staff, some with specialized qualifications.

Teacher returns from the 149 one-room schools indicated that there was at least a second school in each of 18 districts. Some of these districts were not very large, yet two eight-grade one-room schools had been located within the district in order to keep each of the schools within walking distance of the pupils' homes. Some were municipal school districts which had not centralized school facilities. For example, the municipal school district of Lawrence had seven one-room schools. In total, nine municipal school districts operated a total of 45 schools, in which 90 teachers taught 2,124 pupils, or an average of 23 pupils per teacher, during the year ending June, 1965. The range in the total enrolment per municipal school district was from 111 to 427 pupils. Though a number of municipal districts were set up, many of these did not centralize schools nor provide additional services at an actual reduction of cost per student for the total educational program, as did the first such district, Miniota, as early as 1919.

For the year ending June 1965, 257 closed school districts (that is, districts not operating schools) were reported.¹ Of these, 106 were located within the nine-divisions sample, 42 in Lakeshore

¹See Table XXVII, page 260.

Division alone, and 18 in Dauphin-Ochre School Area. For the School Area this was not significant, as the whole Area was taxed as one unit for school purposes. In the rest of the province, such districts more often than not escaped their fair share of bearing the educational tax burden.

It was also pointed out earlier in this part of the chapter that many districts tried to upgrade the quality of the facilities of their small schools in order to justify their continued existence. This effort, however, was made possible through a grant system which provided for the greater share of the teacher's salary, and which provided for a considerable share of the cost of provisions and improvements. Though this would be commendable for geographically remote districts, the wisdom of such investment in small schools is questionable in view of the changing rural scene.

5. Great variation has existed in the wealth or taxable property which has supported the small school district.

The balanced assessment per teacher for 35 school divisions ranged from \$48,700 to \$207,800 for 1965.¹ The general levy raised respectively \$314 and \$2,318 per teacher. The assessments of one-room school districts were as low as \$1,000 in some divisions, whereas the lowest assessment for any such district in another division was \$69,900. For 1965 the special mill rates for school districts within

¹Source: Department of Education files.

the Mountain School Division ranged from 0 to 32. The Manitoba Teachers' Society found that for 1961 the total mill rate for elementary education alone ranged from 5.0 mills to 41.8 mills within the Interlake School Division (5:3-75). The Michener Commission reported that for 1962 total school mill rates ranged from 20.2 to 34.1 for school districts in Fort la Bosse Division, from 40.0 to 102.0 in Lakeshore Division, and from 19.6 to 45.2 in Tiger Hills Division (25:65).

The foregoing illustrates the point that school districts have not had equal capacity to support an educational program, that the grant system in Manitoba has not provided for equalization of the burden of providing for an education, and most of all, that small rural districts have suffered a serious handicap by not being able to support an adequate educational program. It does not seem reasonable to maintain small schools for which the cost per pupil tends to be much higher than in larger schools, nor does it seem reasonable to impose such a burden upon the small district.

Conclusion. It may be unfair to say that the local school board has been ineffective, or that it is ineffective. Its resources have been limited, and the scope of program which any board can provide in the small school necessarily must be a limited one. Nevertheless, inspectors of schools have been critical of the performance of rural school boards. Commissions have suggested the reduction of the powers

of local boards and the transfer of the more significant powers to area or division boards. As was illustrated in Table XVIII, page 216, a change of view of school trustees and of tax-payers in most of the divisions was reported by 23 inspectors and 10 secretary-treasurers. With impending change, local school district trustees appeared to favor the single-district division, in which their task would be terminated, to a school area in which they would have reduced powers.¹

The interest of the local electorate in the local control of the school was not great enough in more than a tenth of all school districts. In more than one hundred districts the affairs of the school were under the direction of an official trustee, and in very few districts did the residents move to regain former control.

Pupil transportation was provided by very few of the one-room districts. Nevertheless, the expense of transportation was not evaded, but borne by the parents who by and large took their children back and forth and no longer expected their children to walk to school or to transport themselves by horse-drawn vehicle (in fact, many rural families no longer own a horse).

Small districts are limited in their tax-base, but even so it would be prohibitive in cost to attempt to provide educational services

¹Nevertheless, in only seven of the 14 divisions in which the referendum for the single-district division was carried on March 10, 1967, was the rural population greater than that of the included incorporated centers.

equal to those which can be provided in a larger school on a lower per pupil cost basis. In terms of the program which can be offered in the small school, its operation is an administrative disadvantage.

Community Interests and Activities

It was assumed that the nature of a community has an effect on the administration of the school district and consequently upon the extent to which educational needs are met.

Factors to be examined. Some of the characteristics of a community which appear to be related to the educational program are:

- 1) population density;
- 2) population mobility and changing rural economy;
- 3) size of socio-economic community;
- 4) community homogeneity or heterogeneity;
- 5) interest in the local school (2; 7; 10; 14; 19; 24; 25; 26; 28).

Comparative references. Faber pointed out that there is little agreement about the proper size of a school community and that there is "little evidence that schools with loyal patrons are in fact better schools" (13:34). On the other hand, Mort and Cornell claimed that the larger district has a greater variety of influencing factors, "notably the presence in the community of persons ranking high in social intelligence and responsibility" (20:137). Ross reported on findings by Gallagher that larger districts are likely to have many more "symbiotic

group contacts" with their schools (26:256). Siemens, in a study including selected Manitoba schools, found a positive relationship between the educational and occupational aspiration levels of students and the size of the community (30:59).

The Local Government Continuing Committee for Saskatchewan reported in 1961 with respect to increased rural mobility and the urbanization of farm attitudes (18:9). The urbanization trend, the disappearance of some small hamlets, and the stabilization of certain natural trading centers are discussed in Chapter III.¹ A pronounced trend toward urbanization, accompanied by the disappearance of some small hamlets and the stabilization of natural trading centers, was found to be characteristic of rural Manitoba. In the middle 1950's investigators in Saskatchewan concluded that the type of farm family that prevailed in the past was disappearing (27:135). Observations included a change in the division of labor among members of the family, a decrease in the father-dominated income allocation, and a decline in the continuity on the land for the family.

The Saskatchewan Commission defined the trading community as the natural area of administration (29:251) and considered the practicability of the "urban-centered community" (18:17). The MacFarlane Commission believed that in Manitoba it was essential to take ethnic and religious factors into consideration in the formation of larger

¹See pages 74-78.

school communities (24:23). Manitoba's unique settlement pattern and the problems associated with the establishment of a single non-sectarian public school system were fundamental to the Commission's deliberation and consequent recommendations.¹

Conditions in Manitoba school districts and divisions. Early school communities were established on the basis of religious and ethnic homogeneity. Such characteristics have prevailed in many school communities to this day.² It is held that this pattern, which became part of the recognized organizational structure of the province, affected a number of political decisions with respect to education.³ Furthermore, it seems to have been also a rural characteristic to accept change with caution.⁴ In view of this, the special select committees of the legislature in 1935 and 1945 did not recommend significant changes in rural education, and none at all with respect to elementary schools.⁵ Nevertheless the rural scene has changed. Fewer people have remained on the farm, and the over-all process of urbanization has affected rural life also. An attempt was made to discover, in part, what the nature of the rural school community is like today.

¹See Chapter III, pp. 65-72, 89-93 for a detailed discussion.

²See pp. 65-72.

³See pp. 78-80, 90-92.

⁴See pp. 154-55.

⁵See p. 138.

1. The population density within rural schools varied, but it was never high.

According to Conant's criterion¹ that a school district should have a school population of at least 1,500 to 2,000 pupils, all except one of the 35 rural divisions would qualify as such districts. Conant's suggestion would assume only one centralized high school for such a district, though it may have more than one elementary school. Most of Manitoba's divisions have several high school centers each. Though extensive centralization of elementary facilities is possible, the problem varies with the divisions. The total population per rural school district varies from 110 to 440, and the total population in rural townships from 120 to 800 with a median of 280.² In low-density population areas of the province the smaller elementary school and the smaller secondary school may be essential features for some years to come.

2. Increasing population mobility and a changing rural economy has been a characteristic of the contemporary rural scene.

It was pointed out in Chapter III³ that the number of people making their livelihood on the farm has decreased considerably in the last quarter century. During the 1951-1961 decade alone the rural farm population decreased by 21.0 per cent and the farm labor

¹See p. 272.

²See Table XXX, page 263.

³See pp. 74-78.

force by 19.5 per cent. An increasing number of farmers sought some off-farm employment.

Twenty-five per cent of the teachers of one-room schools reported pupils transferring to their schools during the term, and 27 per cent, pupils transferring out. This indicates rural mobility, but does not indicate whether this is in any way unusual. Though at one time it was quite common for a number of rural pupils to miss school days every year in order to help on the family farm, only 38 per cent of the teachers of one-room schools reported that one or more pupils had missed ten or more days during the year in order to help their parents at work. Only 15 per cent reported that at least one pupil in their respective schools had not proceeded to high school due to work required of them by their parents. Of the nine divisions, only in Hanover and Lakeshore was the school attendance of pupils affected by work at home in a considerable number of districts.

Teachers of 83 per cent of one-room schools reported that children who had finished school recently were employed away from the home district, and 30 per cent indicated that there were several.

Teachers of 82 per cent of the one-room schools reported that there were one or more farmers within the districts who sought additional employment elsewhere. In 1961, 25 per cent of all farm operators had done some work off the home farm.¹ Fifteen per cent of the

¹See p. 76.

teachers reported families who farmed within the local school district, but who had moved to a village or town where their children attended school.

It was pointed out in Chapter III¹ that the future employment of the greater proportion of the rural population lay in the rural towns which attracted agricultural and non-agricultural industries. It is likely that these towns also hold the future for the rural elementary school and certainly for the rural high school.

3. The socio-economic community has extended far beyond the boundaries of the small rural school district.

Table XLI, page 319, illustrates various distances with respect to the one-room school. The one-room rural school generally was not far from another school. Replies from teachers of 149 one-room schools indicated that the average school was only 4.5 miles from another school. Seventy-five per cent of the schools were within five miles of another school. In Hanover Division all one-room schools were within five miles of another school. Larger schools served larger rural areas, as replies from principals indicated that 71 per cent of the two to four room schools were within five miles of another school, and that only 59 per cent of the schools

¹See p. 77.

TABLE XLI
PER CENT OF ONE-ROOM SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN CATEGORIES OF PROXIMITY
WITHIN THE LARGER COMMUNITY^a

Item	Proximity: Distance in Miles from the Local School								Estimated Average Distance for all Districts
	0-2	3-5	6-8	9-11	12-14	15-17	18-20	21-	
Nearest Neighboring School	13.4	61.7	21.5	2.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	4.5
Distance most people of District travel to Church	11.4	38.3	22.8	14.1	4.0	0.0	2.7	0.7	6.2
Nearest Village of Population 50 or more	4.0	33.6	26.9	19.5	8.7	7.4	0.0	0.0	7.5
Distance most people of District travel to shop for household needs	6.7	30.2	26.2	15.4	8.7	2.7	2.7	5.4	8.1
Distance most people of District travel to get to a Doctor or a Hospital	0.7	11.4	16.1	18.8	11.4	6.7	10.7	23.5	13.6

^aReturns from teachers from 149 one-room schools.

having five or more teachers had neighboring schools within a five-mile range.

Teachers of the one-room schools indicated the distances most of the residents of their districts travelled in order to receive certain services. 72.5 per cent attended a church within an 8-mile radius, with an estimated average of 6.2 miles for all districts. 64.5 per cent of the districts were within 8 miles of a hamlet or village, with an average distance of 7.5 miles for all districts. The residents of 63.1 per cent of the districts shopped at centers within an 8-mile distance, the average being 8.1 for all districts. In order to secure medical services residents generally travelled an average of 13.6 miles, though 28.2 per cent of the districts found these within 8 miles and the residents of 40.9 per cent of the districts travelled farther than 15 miles. It is of interest to note that the teachers of the one-room schools reported that churches were located in about 50 per cent of the districts, and that a store (no matter how small) was located in about 33 per cent of the districts. By contrast, 86 per cent of two to four room school districts had churches, 80 per cent of them had stores, and in districts with schools employing five or more teachers, churches and stores were found almost without exception. It appears that a district employing at least five teachers was usually located in a hamlet which provided some additional services to the community. Even so, 27.5 per cent of the two to four room schools were located in open farm country, away

from hamlets and villages.

With respect to the distances indicated in Table XLI, very little difference was noted among the nine divisions of the sample. In Hanover and Mountain such distances were somewhat below the average, whereas in Souris Valley, Rolling River and Pine Creek these tended to be somewhat above the average. There appears to be little relationship between such distances and the density of the rural population, as Hanover alone exceeded by far the density of the other eight divisions within the sample.

The size of the socio-economic urban center patronized by the residents of the one-room school districts as reported by 149 teachers is indicated in Table XLII, page 322. The numbers of centers of equivalent size found in the nine-division sample was approximately proportional to that for the 35 rural school divisions. Though 78 per cent of the centers had a population less than 500, by and large the residents of only 59.8 per cent of the one-room school districts stopped at these for much of their social and economic activity. Though only 6.1 per cent of the centers had a population greater than 1,500, these attracted the residents of 16.8 per cent of the small school districts.

Teachers were asked to indicate which of the following types of recreation were available within their school districts: socials or parties; dances, movies; ball games; curling; and, hockey. Thirty-four per cent of the one-room school districts were reported as having

TABLE XLII

SIZE OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC URBAN CENTER PATRONIZED
BY THE RESIDENTS OF THE ONE-ROOM SCHOOL DISTRICT

Item	Population of Center						Total
	-100	100 -500	500 -1500	1500 -2500	2500 -10,000	10,000 & over	
35 Divisions							
Number	229 ^a	13	43	8	9	3	304
% of Total	75.3	4.3	14.1	2.6	2.6	1.0	99.9
9-Division Sample							
Number	64 ^a	--	13	3	2	0	82
% of Total	78.0	--	15.9	3.7	2.4	0.0	100.0
Center Patronized by most Residents of the District							
% of Districts ^b	21.5	38.3	22.8	5.4	8.7	2.7	99.4

^aThese are non-incorporated hamlets, some of which have more than 100 residents.

^bReported by teachers of 149 one-room schools.

none. In contrast only two per cent of school districts having two to four teachers had none. Twenty-four per cent of the one-room school districts were reported as having only one kind of recreational activity, and another 24 per cent had at least two. The more common activities reported for all 232 school districts, including town districts, were: socials, 54 per cent; dances, 41 per cent; ball games, 49 per cent; and hockey, 33 per cent. Hanover appeared to provide least for recreational activity in small school districts, but stood high in rank for baseball and hockey. Souris Valley, Mountain, Rolling River, and Pine Creek divisions provided for considerable recreational activity and ranked in the order named. This may be related to the high ethnic homogeneity within these divisions, French in Mountain, and Anglo-Saxon in the others (Hanover, largely Mennonite, would traditionally have de-emphasized certain kinds of social activity), but these divisions also have a higher proportion of consolidated school districts which enclose at least a larger geographical area. Generally, it may be concluded that the residents of one-room school districts were required to go to larger centers for a greater proportion of their recreational activity.

It does not seem unreasonable to propose that those centers which serve the socio-economic needs of the people might also serve the educational needs of their children, both elementary and secondary. As of June 1965 there were 163 high school centers within the 35 rural divisions. This number has been decreasing with the elimination

of the one-room high school and the drop in the number of two-room high schools. As there were 304 hamlets, villages, and towns within the same divisions, some of the smaller hamlets never had high schools and others have been losing them. Every "urban" center which is a high school center, also has an elementary school. Possibly most of these elementary schools should continue, and many of them can be expanded to include pupils now attending surrounding one-room and other small schools.

Inspectors of schools and secretary-treasurers for the 35 divisions were asked the following questions:

1. About how many logical centers for centralized elementary schools are there in your inspectorate?
2. If all schools were placed in village or town centers (not necessarily incorporated centers):
 - a) about how far would the child farthest from a school have to travel one way to school?
 - b) what would be the approximate average distance of rural children from school?
3. How many rural schools in your inspectorate cannot be centralized due to their remoteness (distance, or geographical terrain)?¹

Table XLIII, page 325, was compiled from the replies received. If an average of six centers for elementary schools per division should suffice, a total of 210 centers would be required for the 35 divisions. This would imply that about 100 of the smaller hamlets would not have operating schools, and that nearly all schools would disappear from

¹See Appendixes A & C.

TABLE XLIII
FEASIBILITY OF CENTRALIZED ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS^a

For 35 Rural Divisions	Range	Median
Number of feasible centers	1 - 13	6
Maximum distance for any pupil	7 - 30	18
Approximate average distance for pupils from centers	2 - 15	7

^aCompiled from replies from 28 inspectors and 26 school division secretary-treasurers.

the farming countryside. During the Spring of 1965, 146 or 63 per cent of the schools from 232 districts reporting from the nine divisions and 131 or 88 per cent of the 149 one-room schools were located in the open farm country. The removal of schools from the farm country-side would not result in prohibitive distances to be travelled by elementary pupils. The farthest apparently would travel no more than 30 miles, and the average distance for all pupils would be about seven miles. This is much less cumbersome today than was the trip by horse-drawn van to the consolidated school of thirty years ago. The replies of inspectors and secretary-

treasurers indicated no more than 12 schools in all 35 divisions which could not feasibly be centralized due to their remoteness.

The foregoing discussion does not suggest to what extent centralization may or should take place. Ideally, it may well be that it should be more extensive than that indicated by inspectors and secretary-treasurers. It may be that in order to provide the educational program elementary pupils may require for the near future, much more drastic reform should take place. However, extensive district reorganization must take place so that even the degree of centralization here indicated might be realized.

4. Ethnic variations within school districts do not appear to present incompatible barriers.

It has been pointed out earlier in the thesis that the pattern of ethnic settlement in Manitoba has had some effect upon the nature of the local school and of the school district, and also that ethnic groups have exerted political influence with respect to district reorganization.¹ Over the years considerable integration and assimilation has taken place. Families have moved away from the homogeneous settlement to take up farmsteads in another environment. Others of different background moved into what were solid ethnic communities, particularly the growing urban centers. Teachers of Anglo-Saxon background taught in other ethnic communities, and those of ethnic minority

¹See pp. 65 - 71.

groups taught in Anglo-Saxon communities. Improved roads and better transportation and communication facilities brought people of various backgrounds together in the larger towns. Increased time for leisure brought people together in pursuit of various recreational activities. Considerable assimilation has taken place, and tolerance and understanding for one another has grown. The Anglo-Saxon surname is no longer a singular advantage in the business or professional world. It seems, therefore, that ethnic characteristics should not loom as important with respect to schools as they did at one time.

Teachers and principals from 232 school districts, of which 149 were one-room school districts, returned their estimates with respect to the ethnic characteristics of their respective districts within the selected nine divisions. The results of these returns are tabulated in Table XLIV, page 328.

Only one or two ethnic groups were represented in 60 per cent of the one-room school districts. The proportion dropped to 53 and 29 per cent respectively for districts with schools having two to four teachers and those with larger schools. This merely indicates that larger centers have more ethnic groups. The greatest homogeneity among the nine divisions was found in Hanover and Mountain which had only one or two ethnic groups in 86 and 81 per cent of the districts respectively. If a measure of at least 75 per cent of the residents belonging to the major ethnic group within the community is used, Souris Valley, Rolling River and Duck Mountain divisions also stand out as

TABLE XLIV
ETHNIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS WITHIN SELECTED DIVISIONS

School Division	Major Ethnic Representation ^a						Per Cent of School Districts in Each Category						Neighboring Districts are of the same Ethnic Composition	
	AS	F	G	U	M	S	Having Only One or Two Ethnic Groups		75-100% of Residents belong to largest Ethnic Group		District is Homogeneous or Groups mix completely Socially			
							1-R ^b	S.D. ^c	1-R	S.D.	1-R	S.D.		
Hanover					M		79	86	78	89	54	54	14	25
Mountain						M	--d	81	--	91	--	55	--	18
Souris V.	M						100	61	50	69	83	70	50	46
Rolling R.	M			m		m	83	67	75	76	75	77	25	43
Pine Creek	M		m				86	64	48	47	76	65	48	46
Interlake	M		m	m			27	25	54	45	64	60	55	50
Lake Shore	m		m	P		m	33	34	46	45	56	57	19	20
Duck Mt.	m	m		P			64	58	71	68	67	63	47	45
Dauphin-O.	P			m			50	40	52	33	66	60	50	53
Total for Nine Divisions							60	54	58	62	65	61	36	37
Two to Four-Room Schools Only							53		69		55			31
Five or More Teacher Schools							29		66		53			47

^a AS - Anglo Saxon; F - French; G - German; U - Ukrainian; M - Mennonite; S - Scandinavian; (in columns: M - majority; P - plurality; m - minority) -- for all 35 divisions see Table XXIII.

^b 149 one-room school districts. ^c 232 school districts, which include the 149 one-room school districts, 51 two to four-room school districts, and 32 districts having schools with five or more teachers. ^d Only two returns from one-room school districts in Mountain were received.

having a high degree of homogeneity. Ethnic groups also seem to concentrate in larger proportion within the larger centers, even though these may have a greater variety of such groups. This may be inferred from the fact that 69 and 66 per cent respectively of the districts with two to four room and larger schools had one ethnic group comprising at least 75 per cent of the residents, whereas the proportion for all districts was only 62 per cent.

It appears that the various ethnic groups mix fairly well socially in most districts. The lowest proportion of districts in which the ethnic groups mixed completely or without any difficulty were found in Hanover, Mountain and Lake Shore divisions, in which the respective proportions were 54, 55, and 57 per cent, as compared to an overall 61 per cent for 232 districts. It may be that in Hanover and Mountain the strong Mennonite and French groups exclude the minority groups among them. This may also be true for Lake Shore where there are more or less homogeneous concentrations of German, Ukrainian, and Scandinavian settlements scattered throughout the expansive division. Such exclusion is not so much intended as a natural consequence of members of a minority group not finding congeniality within the prevailing environment. Only 12 of the one-room school districts were reported as having ethnic groups which did not mix socially at all. Three divisions had none of these, and the remainder had only one, two or three districts each. An additional 11 districts with larger schools reported the same situation and five

of these were from Hanover alone. Only one such district was reported from Mountain division.

Thirty-seven per cent of all 232 districts were reported as being surrounded by districts which were of similar ethnic composition. For most of the divisions this proportion approximated 50 per cent. It was 25, 18, and 20 per cent respectively for Hanover, Mountain, and Lake Shore. This may be explained by the fact that the peripheral districts of Hanover and Mountain are adjacent to districts which do not have high homogeneity with respect to Mennonite and French groups. Similarly, in Lake Shore the various small ethnic concentrations were surrounded by districts which differed somewhat in ethnic composition.

A further break-down of the data yielded no obvious relationship between the number of ethnic groups within a school district and the degree to which these groups mixed socially.

5. Though the rural community still thought of its school as a community center, its function as such appears to be rapidly waning.

It has been shown that the residents of most small school districts travelled beyond the boundaries of their districts for most of their socio-economic needs -- in fact, they by-passed most of the smaller hamlets on their way to a larger urban center.

Table XLV, page 331, illustrates to what extent the local school still held an attraction for the district residents. The

COMMUNITY INTEREST IN THE LOCAL SCHOOL

School Division	Per Cent of School Districts in Each Category									
	Xmas Program held during last term		School used for a non-school activity during last term		School Picnic held or planned for the term		Visitor's Day held or planned for the term		Teacher expected to reside in District	
	1-R ^a	S.D. ^b	1-R	S.D.	1-R	S.D.	1-R	S.D.	1-R	S.D.
Hanover Mountain	86 -- ^c	91 36	21 --	54 82	86 --	91 54	86 --	94 91	36 --	54 27
Souris V. Rolling R.	100 100	77 90	83 42	70 57	100 75	92 71	67 67	85 76	17 17	38 19
Pine Creek Interlake	95 91	82 80	29 64	25 80	100 91	90 90	33 45	46 65	24 27	25 25
Lake Shore Duck Mt.	71 44	63 45	49 21	49 27	76 62	76 63	30 21	39 33	27 21	29 28
Dauphin-O.	92	80	75	80	92	87	33	40	33	33
Total for Nine Divisions	76	71	42	51	80	79	40	58	25	31
2 to 4-Room Schools Only	76		67		86		86		41	
5 or more Teacher Schools	41		72		63		94		43	
									26	30
									37	
									38	

^a149 one-room school districts.^b232 school districts, which include the 149 one-room districts.^cOnly two returns from one-room school districts in Mountain were received.

Christmas concert still was a feature commonly found in the small school; in fact, 76 per cent of the teachers of one-room schools reported that a Christmas program had been held during the year. The one-room school had been used for some non-school activity at least once during the year in 42 per cent of the districts. The larger the school, the greater was the proportion of schools used by the community. School picnics had been held or were planned for 80 per cent of the one-room schools; these were somewhat less common for larger schools. Visitors' day had been planned or held for only 40 per cent of the one-room schools. In contrast, 86 per cent of the two to four room schools and 94 per cent of the schools having five or more teachers engaged in open-house activities.

Only 25 per cent of the one-room teachers reported that they were expected to reside in the district, and only 26 per cent that they were expected to take some part in district activities. The common impression held some years ago was that the teacher was hired not only to teach all eight grades, but also to provide some leadership in the social and recreational -- and at times also the religious -- activities of the community. This apparently no longer was so. It appears that such activities had lost their significance in the small school district, as most residents sought these elsewhere. Only 41 per cent of the 149 one-room school teachers reported that their major social contacts during the school year were with people of the district in which they taught. Only two of the nine divisions, both largely

Anglo-Saxon in character, and both employing a large proportion of older married women with second class certificates, reported that more than half of the teachers had their main social contacts with people within the school district.

Whereas at one time it was practically a physical necessity for a teacher to reside in the rural district, now good roads and convenient transportation enable him to travel some distance to school. Only 49 per cent of the teachers of one-room schools resided within the school districts. About one-third of the teachers drove seven or more miles to school, and 17 per cent drove more than 10 miles.

Upon examining Table XLV it is of interest to note that there are certain characteristics which were more common to all the districts of the division, rather than to the one-room school districts only. Christmas programs in the school were more common in Hanover and Rolling River. Non-school activities within the local school were more common in Mountain, Interlake and Dauphin-Ochre divisions. Schools were opened to visitors in greater number in Hanover, Mountain, Souris Valley and Rolling River divisions. A greater proportion of Hanover school districts expected the teacher to reside within the district and also to take part in local community activities. Pine Creek Division school districts also placed greater expectations upon the teacher as a member of the local community.

Reporting on the age of the one-room schools, teachers indicated

that 83 per cent of 149 one-room schools were 10 years or older, and that 68 per cent were 20 years or older. Only eight of the schools, or five per cent, were reported as six years or less in age. Some new schools were constructed by communities hoping to postpone the day when they would lose the local school; some of these had to be closed after only a few years of occupancy due to low enrolments. It seems that by and large most rural districts would have little to lose in school property investment in the event that the school should be closed permanently.

With respect to the school community, the following questions were asked of inspectors and secretary-treasurers of school divisions:

1. Which of the following are obstacles to the consolidation and centralization of elementary schools in your inspectorate?

- ☐ 1. strong ethnic groups within school district boundaries
- ☐ 2. religious teaching preferences within certain districts
- ☐ 3. well-organized or active social activities within school districts
- ☐ 4. much use of the school by the residents of the district
- ☐ 5. strong community feeling or a sense of local school district history or tradition.

2. Which of the following, in your opinion, are significant factors in rural district communities of your inspectorate, which would hinder centralization of elementary schools?

- ☐ 1. belief in the virtue of the small school
- ☐ 2. fear of losing the intimate home-school relationship
- ☐ 3. fear of loss of parental control over children
- ☐ 4. fear of loss of local school control
- ☐ 5. genuine fear of weakening the local community unit
- ☐ 6. local community pride
- ☐ 7. fear of pupil transportation dangers
- ☐ 8. fear of increasing school costs
- ☐ 9. fear of the unknown, the untried, or of change.

3. Please add any comment you wish to make with respect to this Part.¹

The replies by inspectors and secretary-treasurers are indicated in Table XLVI, page 336. A rank order was given to the frequencies in each column, and these were averaged in order to obtain an over-all rank order for the items in terms of the frequency each was mentioned by inspectors, secretary-treasurers, for all divisions, and for co-mention in the same divisions. The ten items which appeared to be most significant fall into the following rank order:

1. Community feeling or tradition
2. Fear of increasing school costs
3. Fear of loss of local school control
4. Fear of change
5. Fear of weakening the local community unit
6. Local community pride
7. Belief in the virtue of the small school
8. Fear of pupil transportation dangers
9. Fear of loss of parental control over children
10. Fear of loss of the intimate home-school relationship.

The foregoing order of items is a result of polling the opinions of inspectors of schools and secretary-treasurers of school divisions. The inspectors have contact with many people throughout the school

¹See Appendixes A & C.

TABLE XLVI
FACTORS HINDERING CONSOLIDATION AND CENTRALIZATION
OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Item	No. of Divisions Indicated by			
	Sec.- Treas.	Inspec- tor	Either S.T. or Inspec- tor	Both S.T. & Inspec- tor
1. Strong ethnic groups	7	6	11	2
2. Religious teaching preferences	6	5	10	1
3. District social activities	4	4	7	1
4. Local use of school	1	3	4	0
5. Community feeling or tradition	19	23	32	10
6. Belief in virtue of small school	9	9	16	2
7. Fear of loss of home-school relationship	10	5	13	2
8. Fear of loss of parental control over children	7	9	15	1
9. Fear of loss of local school control	17	16	25	8
10. Fear of weakening local community unit	13	9	20	2
11. Local community pride	13	8	17	4
12. Fear of pupil transportation dangers	11	5	16	0
13. Fear of increasing school costs	13	20	28	5
14. Fear of change	13	18	26	5

^aQuestionnaire returns from 28 inspectors and 26 secretary-treasurers from 35 school divisions.

divisions, and meet all or most of the school boards of local districts. Secretary-treasurers are by and large individuals who have resided in the division community for many years. Many of them have been conducting business operations in the area and are more or less intimately informed about the people of the community. It may be assumed that at least informed opinion has been volunteered.

It is of interest to note that community feeling or tradition ranks first in the list of items which might hinder centralization of elementary schools. It may well be that this is a sentimental remnant or vestige reflecting the kind of community that existed a generation ago and is no more. The previous discussion in this part of the chapter would indicate that residents no longer depended upon the school district community to provide many social and economic activities. Many residents, however, were at one time participants in the picnics, ball games, and social affairs which had been conducted some time ago. They may still be proud of the name their district bears and may regret seeing it vanish, and consequently they oppose those changes which would hasten the oblivion of the district name.

Inspectors and secretary-treasurers were invited to comment on these items and to add any others they considered relevant. The fear of increasing costs received additional comment. One inspector wrote that he had some ratepayers who tried "to get a small parcel of land transferred to a consolidated district in order to get their children in for the smallest cost possible." Another indicated the division

between urban and rural thinking in that whereas the urbanite had abdicated control of gross take home pay, having placed his reliance upon social security schemes, the rural person was inclined to resist this trend, and consequently also believed in "weeding the budget." Another inspector said that "long standing rivalry between centers" was one of the major factors preventing centralization. The location of a school building was definitely associated with the business potentiality of a community.

One inspector commented as follows with respect to the list of factors:

I have heard them all at various arbitrations. The one most frequently voiced is that young children get very tired when they get up early to catch the bus. In reality none of these factors go very deeply, as none of these advocates or rural schools would return to them after their children have attended a town elementary school for six months.¹

Another inspector indicated that "larger units need to step up their program to make the educational difference more pronounced."

Inspectors and secretary-treasurers were asked to comment on which of the following factors hindered reorganization plans: lack of direction or assistance in planning; lack of educational or publicity programs; obstacles with respect to relationships with municipal councils; difficulties with respect to school financing; obstacles with respect to school legislation; and, opposition within

¹Cited from Questionnaire responses.

the school districts.¹ Most of the foregoing factors were mentioned for one, two, three, or four divisions only; however, school financing difficulty was indicated for seven divisions, and opposition within school districts for 26 divisions. The responses to the items listed in Table XLVI are hereby reinforced. The feeling, thinking, and attitudes of the residents of the school district bear considerable weight in relation to the problem of elementary school centralization.

It is of interest to note that the factor of strong ethnic groups was not ranked among the ten items of greatest importance. In each of the divisions where the item received mention there are smaller or larger concentrations of French, Mennonite, Ukrainian, or German groups. In about half of the same divisions the Anglo-Saxon group was the larger. Though this factor is not significant in most of the divisions of rural Manitoba, it may be a strong one in the divisions within which it is found.

Figure 6, page 340, shows the distribution of single-district divisions which are to be established following the vote on the referendum on March 10, 1967. School divisions having large urban centers (namely Brandon, Portage la Prairie, and Dauphin-Ochre) voted for the referendum. Divisions in which the Ukrainian ethnic group is well represented, with the exception of Agassiz, voted in

¹See Appendixes A & C.

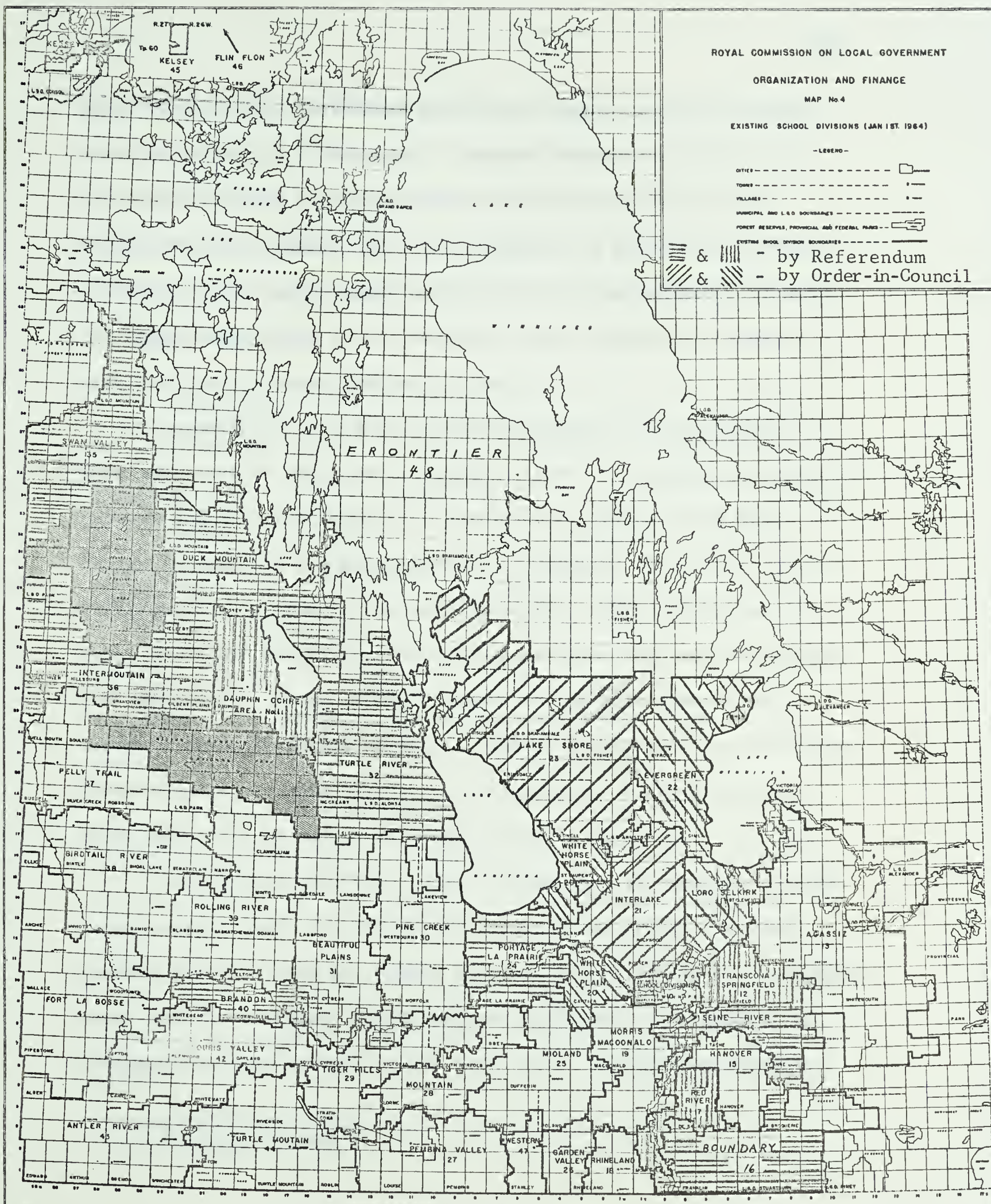


FIGURE 6
SINGLE-DISTRICT DIVISIONS TO BE ORGANIZED FOLLOWING
MARCH 10, 1967 REFERENDUM

favor of the plan. Divisions which are largely French in nature, with the exception of Mountain, likewise favored the plan. All divisions in which the Mennonites are well represented voted against the referendum. With the exception of Brandon and Portage la Prairie, the entire south-western part of the province, in which the Anglo-Saxon group is the majority, voted against the single-district plan of school administration.

According to the data presented earlier in this chapter¹ just over half of the rural population (that is, outside of incorporated towns and villages) is located in divisions which have chosen to maintain the multiple-district division. Over half of the rural children reside in the same divisions. These divisions comprise about 650 school districts in which about 350 one-room schools are maintained. About an equal number of one-room schools are found in those divisions which will become single-district divisions. These schools are more likely to be eliminated in centralization plans developed by boards of single-district divisions.

According to the Free Press, "A majority of Manitoba's rural areas voted to keep the little red school house Friday, dealing Premier Roblin's plan for single district school divisions a crushing blow" (36). Government and Department of Education officials were dumfounded by the outcome of the vote (37). The plan was defeated

¹See pp. 258-260.

in 19 of the 33 divisions which took part in the referendum. The 14 which voted in favor of the plan included four suburban and two city centers. Therefore, only eight of the divisions voting for the plan were largely rural in character. In five other rural divisions the single-district plan is being implemented by an Order-in-Council.

Conclusion. The low population density of some parts of the province may remain a problem with respect to extensive school centralization. However, communication and transportation problems are decreasing in importance. The rural population is becoming increasingly more mobile. The pattern of rural family farm life is changing continually. The trend towards urbanization is not abating. Children no longer play the essential role of assisting in the farm enterprise they once did, and farmers themselves are seeking income from employment away from the farm.

The socio-economic community has increased in size. Even the smaller hamlets may be by-passed in the event of rural school centralization. The pupil conceivably may attend a school in the larger urban center where the family pursues its social and economic needs. Some of the barriers, such as that of language, which kept apart and increased the solidarity of ethnic groups are disappearing entirely. The extensive contact among these groups as they engage in common social, recreational, and economic enterprises, is

dissipating much of the incompatibility which existed at one time.

It appears that though there still is considerable, though varying, interest in the local school, it is waning. Some of the traditional activities associated with the local school are occurring less frequently. The teacher is no longer necessarily resident in the school community. Most of the school buildings are relatively old, and the capital investment contained in them is not extensive. In fact, it appears that much of the concern expressed by the local residents reflects attitudes, feelings, and dying traditions, rather than one of contemporary reality. Nevertheless, the outcome on the single-district referendum seems to indicate that the decision with respect to school district reorganization may be determined in large part by these same concerns.

IV. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

It was indicated in Chapter IV that change in school district reorganization in Manitoba was slow and little because it depended upon local decision which was infrequently productive. There were no legal provisions to force change. Local decision aided change mainly when the electorate participated in a mandatory referendum. This brought about the formation of school divisions, and more recently, of single-district divisions.

In this chapter it has been demonstrated that the educational program provided for rural elementary pupils is less than adequate.

Pupils who attend larger schools in rural Manitoba appear to have decided advantages. The enrolment in most of the rural schools is too small to justify the expenditure that would be essential to provide a program equal in scope to that of the larger schools. Small school districts do not have adequate resources of tax wealth to provide an adequate program, even though increased provincial school grants have made possible considerable "face-lifting" for many rural schools. The administration of small rural schools is costly on a per pupil basis.

It has been shown that an inconsistency exists between the rural school tradition (often labelled as one in the "horse and buggy" stage) and the changing ways of living in the social and economic spheres. The small rural school district is no longer in reality a close-knit community, and the attachment to the school has its roots in the past rather than the present.

The need for reorganizing the rural school system is apparent. The conditions which hinder such reorganization are apparent also. These loom large enough in the minds of many people so that any determined local initiative for change is easily frustrated. The impetus for change necessarily must come from the outside. This is exactly what the provincial government decided was necessary, when it called for a province-wide referendum with respect to single-district divisions in March of 1967, following an intensive educational campaign. The removal of local school

district boundaries, and the dissolution of local district school boards does not miraculously remove the local conditions which have thwarted attempts at reorganization. The problems with respect to centralization of elementary schools are not eliminated by the formation of single-district divisions. The formation of municipal school districts did not result in the closing of most one-room schools within their boundaries, nor did the formation of school divisions result in extensive centralization at the high school level. Division school boards will be faced with gaining the approval of "local" interest factions in order to effect centralization. However, the removal of hundreds of little school authorities cannot but help to hasten the progress of change. With fewer administrative units, fewer administrative decisions will have to be made, and fewer hurdles to be overcome.

It may be that some of the divisions which turned down the single-district plan did so for reasons similar to those which prompted them to vote against the school division plan when it was first held in 1959. However, the negative vote was not restricted to a few divisions which might be characterized as being educationally conservative, unless that qualification applies equally to most of rural Manitoba. However, such decisions are not determined only by the attitudes of ethnic groups but also by economic and political motives. The community that wishes to retain its elementary school for economic reasons, may for that cause vote against the new plan.

Early in Manitoba's history, governments established the operational principle of delegating the final decision with respect to school district reorganization to the local resident electorate. A government which chooses to abide by this historical principle must evidently be prepared to wait patiently for change to occur. The consequences of the referendum of 1959 differed from those of the 1967 referendum. The former gave to all rural students the opportunity of attending a high school, which by right or privilege many rural residents did not have. The latter, among other things, would take away from the residents of small school districts the control of the small elementary school. Apparently the factors which inhibit reorganization¹ are still significant enough to delay the demise of the small school district in one swift move. Legislation passed in 1966 provides for the formation of single-district school divisions upon the petition of resident electors. It may be that a change of attitude will occur more quickly following the referendum which was held. It is doubtful that as many single-district divisions (as can now be established) would have come into being as quickly without the imposition of a mandatory referendum.

It must be kept in mind that neither district reorganization nor the centralization of schools guarantees a better educational program for rural children. These make possible the organizational

¹See p. 335.

framework within which a more adequate program may be achieved. Its realization depends upon the foresight and insight of both local and provincial leadership and the willingness of the local electorate to accept such leadership and to pay the cost of such a program.

Generally, this thesis has not demonstrated that local conditions with respect to rural schools vary extensively from division to division. Though there are variations with respect to individual factors, the composite profiles are much the same throughout the nine selected divisions, and presumably so throughout the rural part of the province. There are no pronounced differences in various parts of the province with respect to the kind of reorganization that has taken place in relation to consolidated and municipal school districts.¹ Most of the latter were not formed by local choice, but by order-in-council where whole municipalities comprised districts under the control of official trustees. The one school area was introduced as a result of departmental concentration on only two or three locations in the province during the 1940's, but the plan did not arouse enthusiasm anywhere else.

¹There is no apparent relationship between the kind of reorganization which had occurred (such as the formation of consolidated and municipal school districts) and the acceptance of the single-district division plan. Such characteristics seem to be more or less equally distributed among divisions which chose, or chose not, to vote in favor of the referendum.

It can be assumed that, left to local initiative and strictly permissive legislation, no great change would move across the face of the province for some time to come. However, changes in the legislation with respect to school district reorganization in combination with government initiative and leadership has produced change in the more recent past, and it may be predicted that it will do so again in the course of the next few years. It is inferred, therefore, that school district reorganization is more a consequence of central government action than that of the initiative of local school authorities and the local electorate.

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CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

When this study was being planned, it was thought advisable to establish a framework within which the relationship of provincial legislation and of local conditions to school district reorganization could be shown. This was done in part by reviewing trends in district reorganization in other provinces and in the United States, and by examining the procedures by which reorganization in these places had been initiated and implemented. In order to proceed with such a study in a specific situation -- that is, in one province -- it was considered essential to delineate the setting within which school district reorganization has taken place in Manitoba. Therefore the first chapters of the thesis have provided the historical, socio-economic and political background, and have traced the development of the province's system of school administrative units. Chapters V and VI have dealt specifically with the sub-problems of the thesis.

II. SUMMARY

Trends in School District Reorganization

The number of operating school administrative units in rural areas has been decreasing in the Canadian provinces as it has in the

American states. Consequently, such units have been increasing in size. The reorganized unit generally has included both elementary and secondary schools. The development of school units which are geographically coterminous with municipal jurisdictions has become a more prevalent phenomenon. The trend of centralization of school facilities has been accompanied by a rapid decrease in small schools. The one-room school has nearly disappeared from the scene in several provinces. Small district consolidations, common in an earlier era, have been generally regarded as obsolete and ineffective. The intermediate unit, common in many of the American states, has not developed as a distinct and unique form of school administration in the Canadian rural areas. Several provinces have brought about extensive reorganization by mandatory legislation, and it appears that more provinces have been making recent legislation more mandatory, or at least only semi-permissive, rather than leaving the onus of initiating reorganization entirely upon the local electorate.

Setting for Manitoba's School Legislation

The early settlement pattern was one of more or less homogeneous ethnic groups. By and large the provincial government sought to satisfy the wishes of these groups with respect to education. The consequence of this was a multi-lingual system and a strengthening of ethnic isolationist tendencies. Not without considerable internal and national conflict the province moved through the stages of having no school system,

a dual system similar to that of Quebec at that time, a system with provision for separate denominational schools based on the pattern of Ontario, to a single non-sectarian system with special privileges for any immigrant group as well as for the resident French. Finally, the provincial school system was strengthened and unified by abolishing all bilingual privileges in 1916. The desires of the minority ethnic groups, particularly those of the French, however, were not destroyed, and their impact has remained an influential factor on the provincial political scene, particularly in matters relating to education. The "shared services" bill of 1965 was an example which illustrated that the ethnic-religious forces, most active during the era of the Manitoba School Question, had not lost their potency. The first drastic changes in school legislation came about as a result of the influx of Ontario settlers which upset the English-French Protestant-Catholic political and religious balance of the province. It appears that a general reluctance by governments to provoke the earlier conflict into new eruptions resulted in safe and rather sterile school legislation for the next fifty or sixty years.

The early rural settlement pattern necessitated small school districts and small municipalities. Hence a multiplicity of small local school and municipal units developed. As the years passed, however, the socio-economic character of the province changed. The structure of local government developed for pioneer settlers no longer provided adequate services for rural Manitoba in which even

the farm population had become more mobile and in which urban centers increased in relative importance. However, the structure remained essentially the same except for the introduction of school divisions in 1959.

Development of School Administrative Units

The small rural school district served its purpose reasonably well under pioneer conditions in isolated communities. Nevertheless, its disadvantages and shortcomings were noted from the very beginning and reported on frequently by school inspectors and educational committees and commissions decade after decade. Small rural schools generally were unable to provide an adequate program in terms of some variety of instruction, a challenging library, and basic desirable facilities. The difficulty of obtaining and holding qualified teachers was a perennial problem. The consolidated school district, though an improvement in its day, was not universally accepted. The municipal school district was a much better innovation, but for more than three decades no amount of effort succeeded in persuading more than one area to accept it voluntarily. Though the school area unit proved to be operationally sound, only one was ever established.

The need for school district reorganization in rural Manitoba was emphasized by commissions in 1919 and 1924, and by special select committees of the legislature in 1933 and 1945. However, even the Royal Commission of 1958 did not underscore the urgent need for the

reorganization of elementary districts. The Michener Commission of 1963, while not primarily concerned with education, emphatically recommended rural school district reorganization and centralization. Also, the Manitoba Economic Consultative Board in its 1966 report precisely delineated the urgent necessity of restructuring rural school organization in view of new and demanding economic needs. Only very recently -- explicitly since 1965 -- has the provincial school trustees' organization joined the teachers' organization in its effort to promote district reorganization. Prior to the introduction of school divisions, the government of Manitoba has been reluctant to indicate a precise course of action and to provide definite leadership in the promotion of province-wide rural school district reorganization.

Legislation and Rural School District Reorganization

Theoretically the provincial legislature has the power to create and to abolish local units of school administration. The creation of any local school administrative unit is governed by the statutes passed by the legislature. The political philosophy with respect to local school district administration and organization was established some eighty years ago. It placed major decision-making responsibility upon the local community. It was a philosophy appropriate and necessary to the conditions of pioneer settlement days. Only in the last decade has the government of the province

veered from the traditional pattern in order to face the problems and challenges of a changed social system.

Until recently legislation did not require definite provincial nor local planning with respect to school district reorganization. The establishment of a School Divisions Boundaries Commission in 1958 was the first step with a view to planning province-wide reorganization. The creation of The Local Government Boundaries Commission in 1966 indicated the decision of the government to make planning at the provincial level a continuing function.

Traditionally, the implementation of any district reorganization was initiated, with rare exception, by local school boards or the electorate of the involved districts; a petition signed by a considerable portion of the electorate was a usual requirement for any major reorganization. Little of notable consequence occurred. In 1959 the government for the first time required that a referendum be held throughout the province with respect to the establishment of school divisions. For the second time, in March of 1967, the government conducted a province-wide mandatory referendum with respect to the establishment of single-district divisions.

No legislation has ever been passed requiring the mandatory disestablishment of school districts with closed schools or with low-enrolment schools. Such legislation may still be useful with respect to such districts in multi-district divisions.

No legislation has ever been passed which would require some

centralization of either elementary or secondary schools. Decisions with respect to school centralization is a prerogative of the local school authority. Single-district division boards will have many such decisions to make.

The legislation provides for the sharing of services between local administrative units. One school board may enter into an agreement with the board of another with respect to educational services. There has been little implementation of this permissive legislation.

The provincial government has provided for the cost of boundaries commissions and of referendums with respect to school division reorganization. Concurrently it has also provided incentive grants for the establishment of school divisions and for the construction of larger or centralized schools.

Local Conditions and Rural School District Reorganization

Most rural elementary school districts in Manitoba have always had low pupil enrolments. One-room schools, in particular, have had less than their proportion of better qualified teachers, and have had a higher than average turn-over of staff. Educational facilities and services have been limited in quantity and quality, and the curricular content limited to the permissible minimum. Rural districts have also had very limited tax resources, and the cost per pupil that would have been involved in equating the educational opportunities

with those of larger schools would have been prohibitive. The practical powers of local school boards were curtailed by the meagre financial resources at their disposal. It appears that official trustees provided somewhat more generously for the schools, and communities seem to have been satisfied with this form of government, wherever the practice was initiated.

A rural to urban population shift and a change in the rural economy has affected the small school district community. The socio-economic community has increased in size. Fewer needs can now be met within the limits of the small school district. The small rural school, particularly the one-room school, more and more has been losing its importance as a community center. The desire of the local populace to maintain the local school seems to have been based more on tradition, sentimental attachments, and on a fear of change, rather than on the capacity of the school to really serve the educational needs of the community. Furthermore, there appears to be evidence that in most parts of the province ethnic barriers have been rapidly decreasing in importance as factors to be considered in setting up and maintaining school administrative units.

Local conditions were fairly comparable from division to division. Early consolidations occurred almost without exception in communities which were largely Anglo-Saxon in population. More recent consolidations, since the introduction of school divisions in 1959, were more prevalent in such divisions which contained some of the early

consolidations, and also occurred in divisions largely French-Catholic in composition. However, it appears that few consolidations occurred in any area in which the rural population density was well above the average for the province. As no extensive school district reorganization took place prior to the 1959 referendum, it seems that whatever differences in local conditions existed from one part of the province to another, these in themselves did not result in decisive reorganization processes. The mandatory referendum resulted in the rejection of the school division plan by all divisions which were predominantly Mennonite in composition. However, one of these at once applied for another vote, and accepted the plan. The others adopted the plan several years later. The single-district referendum was defeated in every division in which the Mennonite group is predominant. However, it was also defeated by one division in which the French are the majority, and also by the entire south-western rural part of Manitoba which is populated largely by the Anglo-Saxon group. Divisions with large urban centers and those having strong representation from the Ukrainian ethnic group, voted in favor of the referendum. It is also possible that the economic interests of small hamlets and villages, expressed in terms of keeping the local school in order to perpetuate the survival of the small urban community, may have led to the defeat of the referendum in certain other divisions. It is well to keep in mind, however, that the establishment of the single-district division does not in itself assure immediate nor extensive

rural school centralization.

III. CONCLUSIONS

The problem of this thesis was to examine the relationship of historical, political and socio-economic factors -- and more specifically, the relationship of school legislation and local conditions -- to school district reorganization in rural Manitoba.

The ethnic settlement pattern, the "Manitoba School Question," government parties concerned mainly with rural and agricultural interests, and the economic strictures which accompanied the years of depression and of war, seem to have been factors and forces that affected the development of school district organization. Apparently, the result was a school district system which was modified very little during more than half a century.

The first major sub-problem was to examine the school legislation and its relationship to school district reorganization. It was found that early legislation outlined the procedures whereby school administrative units could be organized and reorganized. The legislation was permissive in nature. Expediency and immediate needs at the local level apparently dictated the consequent development which in turn was bound by tradition and inertia. Not until new legislation provided for planning on a province-wide basis, for mandatory referendums, and for financial incentives to facilitate local implementation, did any major reorganization take place.

The second major sub-problem was to examine certain local conditions in selected rural districts and their relationship to school district reorganization. It was found that a demonstration of educational needs for the children attending the small school, an awareness of the inadequate resources of the small district to provide for these needs, and a substantial change in the socio-economic life of the community, did not in themselves under the existing legislation result in any general reorganization of the school district structure in rural Manitoba. Though permissive legislation for such change was in effect, its implementation was not generally sought. Though a readiness for such reorganization was demonstrated by the introduction of school divisions in 1959, the initiative was induced by the provincial government rather than by local authorities or the local electorate. Subsequently, the government provided the initiative for the formation of single-district divisions.

IV. IMPLICATIONS

Established school administrative units appear to be loathe to disorganize themselves. Consolidations and centralizations made today may prove to be a hindrance tomorrow. It is therefore essential that district reorganization proceed according to plan and with purpose. It could be wrong to attempt to copy that which occurred in Saskatchewan or Alberta twenty or more years ago. The larger units of these provinces

served well at the time they were created, but it appears that some further reorganization may have to be worked out there. Manitoba should plan ahead and do more than introduce school administrative units it could have had to advantage two decades ago. The province should plan and introduce units which will serve best the needs and conditions of the ensuing years. The introduction of single-district divisions, therefore, should not be regarded as the ultimate in reorganization, but as part of a process which should continue.

Planning is of utmost importance. The provincial authorities should provide for uninterrupted and continuous planning at a province-wide level, and arrange for the mandatory participation of school boards in planning at the local level. This is particularly important if sound projects for centralization are to be developed. Centralized facilities for the immediate future may have to provide not only for elementary and secondary instruction but also for adult education.

Provincial authorities can profit from the history of the development of educational administrative units within the province. Democratic local government practice does not exclude provincial leadership responsibility. Left to their own resources, local governments and the local electorate are in danger of coming short of meeting their responsibilities to the children whose future opportunities depend on them. There is need for provincial leadership when the change in rural attitudes does not keep pace with the change in rural socio-economic conditions.

It should be noted that the provincial government from time to time has made decisions which took away that which certain portions of the electorate regarded as their rights and privileges. The separate school privileges were taken from the French Catholics and, for that matter, also from the English Protestants. The privilege of conducting bilingual schools was abolished. Compulsory school attendance was enforced. If these acts of the government can be justified, the question may be asked why the provincial authority should not impose structural change upon local districts, an action much less affecting the values and mores of groups of people. For example, why should a provincial authority compel parents to send their children to school, but hesitate to impose an organizational structure which will increase the child's opportunities to obtain a better education while attending school?

Finally, if the local electorate is to be induced to make important decisions with respect to school district reorganization, provincial authorities must continually modify the structure of school financing, including government school grants, so that local units might be encouraged to evolve better organizational structures and discouraged from persisting to holding on to structures which are obsolete and which do not serve in the best interests of the pupil.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

This thesis has probed into the relationships between legislation and local conditions and that of school district reorganization. There are other factors that might be examined. How is the legislation itself brought about through political action, and what political and sociological factors affect the implementation of school district reorganization? What is the nature of school district reorganization problems which are likely to be faced by urban centers in the province? What kind of organization provides for the needs of the schools in northern and remote communities? What is the effect of provincial school grants and the whole system of school financing upon school district reorganization? What kind of planning activity at the provincial and local levels can be functional in the school district reorganization process?

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APPENDIX A

SCHOOL DIVISION AND DISTRICT ORGANIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE
TO INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS

(March, 1965)

SCHOOL DIVISION AND DISTRICT ORGANIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE

TO INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS

I have been a Manitoba teacher and principal until resuming studies in educational administration at the University of Alberta. Presently I am conducting research about school district organization and reorganization in rural Manitoba as part of my studies. This study has been approved by the Department of Educational Administration at this University, and has the support of the Canadian Education Association, and of the Manitoba Department of Education.

Part of the data required for this study is being obtained, by means of this questionnaire, from the Inspectors of rural schools in Manitoba. It would be sincerely appreciated if you would assist with this study by completing the questionnaire and RETURNING IT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, sealed in the stamped, return-addressed envelope provided. All information will be treated as CONFIDENTIAL.

Yours sincerely,

John J. Bergen.

INSTRUCTIONS:

This questionnaire is designed to obtain your estimate of certain aspects of school district organization and reorganization in rural parts of the province. The questionnaire also asks for much general data on rural schools and rural school districts. The purpose of the study is to examine certain factors related to the progress of school district reorganization in rural Manitoba.

SECTION A requests general data about the schools and districts of your inspectorate.

SECTION B asks for statements and opinions about matters related to actual school district reorganization planning and implementation.

SECTION C asks for information more precisely related to the local school district, its school, and its people.

Please check (✓) the response to such items where a choice is indicated.

Where the response required is a number please enter "0" for each item for which the answer is zero.

Where you have only incomplete information, you may prefer not to reply to each item.

Add any comment you may wish to make to any part of the questionnaire.

SECTION A: GENERAL DATA ABOUT YOUR INSPECTORATE

1. When were you assigned to your present inspectorate?

2. You inspect all elementary schools in Divisions
_____, _____, _____
and some of the elementary schools in Divisions
_____, _____, _____
3. How many school districts are there in your inspectorate? _____
4. How many of each of the following kinds of school districts are there in your inspectorate?

 () 1. rural, but not including hamlets or villages
 () 2. rural, but including non-incorporated hamlets or villages
 () 3. village or town, of incorporated centers
 () 4. municipal school districts
5. How many of each of the following kinds of elementary schools are there in your inspectorate area?

 () 1. one-teacher schools outside of hamlets
 () 2. one-teacher schools within hamlets or villages
 () 3. two-teacher schools outside of hamlets
 () 4. two-teacher schools within hamlets or villages
 () 5. three-to-six-teacher schools outside of hamlets
 () 6. three-to-six-teacher schools within hamlets or villages, incorporated and non-incorporated
 () 7. Hutterite schools
 () 8. Indian schools
 () 9. Other special schools
6. How many elementary schools staffed with 15 or more teachers are there in your inspectorate? _____
7. How many one-teacher elementary schools fall into the following classification of enrolment?

() 1. 1 to 7 pupils	() 4. 22 to 28 pupils
() 2. 8 to 14 pupils	() 5. 29 to 34 pupils
() 3. 15 to 21 pupils	() 6. 35 or more

SECTION B: REORGANIZATION PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION

I. PLANNING

1. Has any school district reorganization been attempted in your inspectorate since August 1959?

☐ 1. yes

☐ 2. no

2. If there has been an attempt to reorganize:

- a) Which of the following kinds of reorganization were planned?

☐ 1. formation of a new school district

☐ 2. formation of a municipal school district

☐ 3. consolidation of school districts

☐ 4. dissolution of a school district and the transfer of its lands to other school districts

☐ 5. centralization of rural schools within districts

☐ 6. sharing of services between districts, or between districts and the Division

☐ 7. other (specify) _____

- b) Who, or which body, initiated the reorganization plans?

☐ 1. electors, by petition

☐ 2. local school board(s)

☐ 3. Division school board

☐ 4. municipal council

☐ 5. school inspector (directly or indirectly)

☐ 6. Lt.-Gov.-in-Council

☐ 7. other, specify _____

- c) Did the planning result in action in one or more instances?

☐ 1. yes

☐ 2. no

- d) Where planning did not result in action, which of the following factors hindered the carrying out of the plan(s)?

☐ 1. lack of direction or assistance in planning

☐ 2. lack of an educational or publicity program

☐ 3. opposition within the school district(s)

☐ 4. obstacles with respect to relationships with the municipal council(s)

☐ 5. difficulties with respect to school financing

☐ 6. obstacles in the school legislation

☐ 7. other (specify)

3. If there has been no attempt since August 1959 to plan any kind of school district reorganization in your inspectorate, which of the following reasons apply?
- ☐ 1. no need (as judged by you) for any reorganization
 - ☐ 2. no need felt (by the electors) for any reorganization
 - ☐ 3. lack of an educational or publicity program to indicate the need for reorganization to the electorate
 - ☐ 4. lack of any party taking the initiative
 - ☐ 5. lack of any agency to plan and assist in reorganization
 - ☐ 6. not profitable from the viewpoint of financing
 - ☐ 7. obstacles inherent in the legislation
 - ☐ 8. other (specify)
4. Please add any comment you wish to make with respect to this Part.

II. IMPLEMENTATION (IN GENERAL)

1. If there has been reorganization of any kind since August 1959:
- a) Which, if any, of the following problems were encountered:
- ☐ 1. problems of legislation (inherent in the School Act)
 - ☐ 2. government grants to school districts and Divisions
 - ☐ 3. taxation for school purposes
 - ☐ 4. financing of school operation costs
 - ☐ 5. general problems of organizing the new district, etc.
 - ☐ 6. other (specify)
- b) With reference to school district reorganization, has there been any appeal in one or more instances:
- i) to the Board of Reference (according to School Act, sec.471)?
 - ☐ 1. yes
 - ☐ 2. no
 - ii) to the County Court (or any other court)?
 - ☐ 1. yes
 - ☐ 2. no
2. Please add any comment you wish to make with respect to this Part.

III. DISESTABLISHMENT OF DISTRICTS

1. How many school districts were dissolved in your inspectorate since August 1959:
 - ☐ 1. at the request of electors?
 - ☐ 2. at the request of school boards?
 - ☐ 3. at the request or suggestion of school inspectors?
 - ☐ 4. other?(specify)
2. How many school districts were dissolved due to factors which included the following:
 - ☐ 1. closed schools?
 - ☐ 2. low enrolment
 - ☐ 3. consolidation?
 - ☐ 4. other?(specify)
3. How many school districts now operating schools, in your opinion, should be dissolved because:
 - ☐ 1. they do not operate schools or their schools are closed?
 - ☐ 2. their schools have low enrolments?
 - ☐ 3. other?(specify)
4. How many of the districts with closed schools, in your opinion, do not wish dissolution due to:
 - ☐ 1. a realistic hope of re-opening the school?
 - ☐ 2. current advantage in lower school taxes?
 - ☐ 3. other?(specify)
5. Please add any comment you wish to make with respect to this Part.

IV. CENTRALIZATION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

1. How many rural districts in your inspectorate operate more than one school within the district? _____
2. Which of the following conditions today warrant the operation of more than one school by these districts?
 - ☐ 1. size of district or poor road conditions
 - ☐ 2. impending centralization at the Division level does not warrant the expense of bringing schools together at this time.
 - ☐ 3. other (specify)

3. About how many logical centers for centralized elementary schools are there in your inspectorate? _____
4. If all schools were placed in village or town centers (not necessarily incorporated centers):
 - a) about how far would the child farthest from a school have to travel one way to school? _____ miles
 - b) what would be the approximate average distance of rural children from school? _____ miles
5. How many rural schools in your inspectorate cannot be centralized due to their remoteness (distance, or geographical terrain)? _____
6. Please add any comment you wish to make with respect to this Part.

V. SHARING OF SERVICES

1. Which of the following services (other than the distribution of grants) are Division boards in your inspectorate offering to one or more districts?
 - () 1. sharing of school equipment, (such as film projectors)
 - () 2. services of specialist or consultant teachers
 - () 3. pupil transportation
 - () 4. other (specify)
2. Is any kind of service being shared by any two or more rural districts which does not involve the Division board?
 - () 1. yes (specify, what kind) _____
 - () 2. no
3. Please add any comment you wish to make with respect to this Part.

SECTION C: THE LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICT

I. GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

1. The maintenance of school yards in rural districts is generally
☐ 1. better than
☐ 2. as good as
☐ 3. poorer than
it is in village or town districts.
2. The maintenance of classrooms in rural districts is generally
☐ 1. better than
☐ 2. as good as
☐ 3. poorer than
it is in village or town districts.
3. The equipment, supplies, and library in classrooms of rural districts is generally
☐ 1. more adequate than
☐ 2. as adequate as
☐ 3. less adequate than
in classrooms of village or town schools.
4. How many elementary schools in your inspectorate have
☐ 1. a supervising principal (teaching less than half time)?
☐ 2. the services of supervisors, consultants, or counsellors?
☐ 3. a secretary or office clerk (part or full time)?
6. How many of the districts in your inspectorate are under an official trustee? _____
7. Which of the following factors explain, at least in part, the continued operation of the districts by an official trustee?
☐ 1. lack of local interest in self-government
☐ 2. lack of community unity on school matters
☐ 3. other (specify)
8. Please add any comment you wish to make with respect to this Part.

II. SOME EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

1. a) Pupils with special problems (such as the bright, the slow, the poor readers, the emotionally handicapped, etc.) in rural schools generally get
 - ☐ 1. more attention than
 - ☐ 2. about the same attention as
 - ☐ 3. less attention than
 do pupils in village or town schools.
 - b) ☐ 1. they get little attention in any of the schools.
2. a) Older pupils in the elementary grades drop out of school in rural districts
 - ☐ 1. in greater proportion than
 - ☐ 2. in about the same proportion as
 - ☐ 3. in lesser proportion than
 they do in village or town schools.
 - b) ☐ 1. There are few such drop-outs in any of the schools.
3. a) Pupils who complete elementary school (grade eight) in rural districts, discontinue school
 - ☐ 1. in greater proportion than
 - ☐ 2. in about the same proportion as
 - ☐ 3. in lesser proportion than
 do pupils who complete grade eight in village or town schools.
 - b) ☐ 1. There are few such drop-outs in any of the schools.
4. Please add any comment you wish to make with respect to this Part.

III. THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY

1. Which of the following are obstacles to the consolidation and centralization of elementary schools in your inspectorate?
 - ☐ 1. strong ethnic groups within school district boundaries
 - ☐ 2. religious teaching preferences within certain districts
 - ☐ 3. well-organized or active social activities within school districts
 - ☐ 4. much use of the school by the residents of the district
 - ☐ 5. strong community feeling or a sense of local school district history or tradition.

2. Which of the following, in your opinion, are significant factors in rural district communities of your inspectorate, which would hinder centralization of elementary schools?

- ☐ 1. belief in the virtue of the small school
- ☐ 2. fear of losing the intimate home-school relationship
- ☐ 3. fear of loss of parental control over children
- ☐ 4. fear of loss of local school control
- ☐ 5. genuine fear of weakening the local community unit
- ☐ 6. local community pride
- ☐ 7. fear of pupil transportation dangers
- ☐ 8. fear of increasing school costs
- ☐ 9. fear of the unknown, the untried, or of change

3. Please add any comment you wish to make with respect to this Part.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Please return as soon as possible to:

John J. Bergen,
548 Education Building,
University of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta.

Use the stamped return-addressed envelope provided.

APPENDIX B

SCHOOL DIVISION AND DISTRICT ORGANIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE B
TO INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS

(May, 1966)

University of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta.

May 11, 1966.

Dear Inspector:

My thesis, School District Reorganization in Manitoba, is nearing completion.

About this time last year you returned a questionnaire to me. I am grateful to you for that.

I would be very pleased if you would return the enclosed brief form to me at your earliest convenience. A stamped and addressed envelope is enclosed.

I hope to make available to you a summary of my findings for the province.

Sincerely,

John J. Bergen.

SCHOOL DIVISION AND DISTRICT ORGANIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE B
TO INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS

1. Your inspectorate includes Division(s):
2. How many consolidations (not the number of school districts involved) were completed in your inspectorate during the 1965-66 term?

In which Divisions?

Are any more consolidations under serious consideration?
3. Were the provisions of Bill 141 (shared services to private schools) implemented at all in your inspectorate?

If so, in what way?
4. Is there any serious consideration in your inspectorate with respect to the implementation of the provisions of Bill 39, which would change the Division into a School Area?
5. Is there any serious consideration in your inspectorate with respect to the provisions of Bill 16, which would result in the formation of a single-district Division?
6. Has the view of trustees and/or rate-payers changed appreciably within the last year with respect to surrendering small rural school district independence?
7. Please make any additional comment you may wish to make with respect to any aspect of school district reorganization in your inspectorate.

APPENDIX C

SCHOOL DIVISION AND DISTRICT ORGANIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE
TO SCHOOL DIVISION SECRETARY-TREASURERS

(March, 1965)

SCHOOL DIVISION AND DISTRICT ORGANIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE

TO SCHOOL DIVISION SECRETARY-TREASURERS

Dear Secretary-Treasurer:

I have been a Manitoba teacher and principal until resuming studies in educational administration at the University of Alberta. Presently I am conducting research about school district organization and reorganization in rural Manitoba as part of my studies. This study has been approved by the Department of Educational Administration at this University, and has the support of the Manitoba Department of Education, and the Canadian Education Association.

Part of the data required for this study is being obtained, by means of this questionnaire, from the Secretary-Treasurers of School Divisions. It would be sincerely appreciated if you would assist with this study by completing the questionnaire and RETURNING IT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, sealed in the stamped, return-addressed envelope provided. All information will be treated as CONFIDENTIAL.

Yours sincerely,

John J. Bergen.

INSTRUCTIONS:

The questionnaire is designed to obtain your estimate of certain aspects of school district organization and reorganization in rural Manitoba. The questionnaire also asks for general data on rural school districts. The purpose of the study is to examine certain factors related to the progress of school district reorganization in rural Manitoba.

SECTION A requests general data about your Division and about school districts within your Division.

SECTION B asks for statements and opinions about matters related to actual school district reorganization planning and implementation.

SECTION C asks for information more precisely related to the local school district.

Please check (✓) the response to such items where a choice is indicated. Where the response required is a number enter "0" for each item for which the answer is zero.

Add any comment you wish to make to any part of the questionnaire. Where you have only incomplete information you may prefer not to reply to each item.

You are secretary-treasurer of Division _____, No. _____

You have held this appointment since _____, 19 _____

SECTION A: GENERAL DATA ABOUT YOUR SCHOOL DIVISION

1. What is the balanced assessment for your school division (for the division and all included districts)? _____
2. What is the approximate geographical area of your Division in townships or in square miles? _____
3. What is the approximate total population for your Division, according to the latest census? _____
4. How many incorporated villages or towns are in the Division? _____
5. How many non-incorporated hamlets or villages, with a population of 50 or more, are in the Division? _____
6. How many of each of the following must be requisitioned for all school taxes by the Division?
 - () 1. rural municipalities
 - () 2. local government districts
 - () 3. incorporated villages or towns
 - () 4. other (specify) _____
7. What is the approximate total elementary enrolment in all schools within the Division? _____
8. What is the approximate total secondary enrolment (grades nine to twelve) in all schools within the Division? _____
9. How many elementary school districts provide pupil transportation or use transportation provided by the Division? _____
10. What is the total number of school districts in your Division? _____
11. How many of each of the following kinds of school districts are there in your Division? (count each district only once)
 - () 1. rural non-union
 - () 2. rural union
 - () 3. rural non-union consolidated
 - () 4. rural union consolidated
 - () 5. incorporated village or town
 - () 6. incorporated village or town consolidated
 - () 7. municipal school district (date formed _____)
(name _____)

c) Did the planning result in action in one or more instances?

☐ 1. yes

☐ 2. no

d) Where planning did not result in action, which of the following factors hindered the carrying out of the plan(s)?

☐ 1. lack of direction or assistance in planning

☐ 2. lack of an educational or publicity program

☐ 3. opposition within the school district(s)

☐ 4. obstacles with respect to relationships with the municipal council(s)

☐ 5. difficulties with respect to school financing

☐ 6. obstacles in the school legislation

☐ 7. other (specify)

3. If there has been no attempt since August 1959 to plan any kind of school district reorganization in your Division, which of the following reasons apply?

☐ 1. no need (as judged by you) for any reorganization

☐ 2. no need felt (by the electors) for any reorganization

☐ 3. lack of an educational or publicity program to indicate the need for reorganization to the electorate

☐ 4. lack of any party taking the initiative

☐ 5. lack of any agency to plan and assist in reorganization

☐ 6. not profitable from the viewpoint of financing

☐ 7. obstacles inherent in the legislation

☐ 8. other (specify)

4. Please add any comment you wish to make with respect to this Part.

II. IMPLEMENTATION (IN GENERAL)

1. If there has been reorganization of any kind since August 1959, which, if any, of the following problems were encountered?

☐ 1. problems of legislation (inherent in the School Act)

☐ 2. government grants to school districts and Divisions

☐ 3. taxation for school purposes

☐ 4. financing of school operation costs

☐ 5. general problems of organizing the new district, etc.

☐ 6. other (specify)

2. Please add any comment you wish to make with respect to this Part.

III. DISESTABLISHMENT OF DISTRICTS

1. How many school districts were dissolved in your Division since August 1959:
- ☐ 1. at the request of electors?
 - ☐ 2. at the request of school boards?
 - ☐ 3. at the suggestion of the school inspector?
 - ☐ 4. other? (specify)
2. How many school districts were dissolved due to factors which included the following?
- ☐ 1. closed schools?
 - ☐ 2. low enrolment?
 - ☐ 3. consolidation?
 - ☐ 4. other? (specify)
3. How many school districts now operating schools, in your opinion, should be dissolved because:
- ☐ 1. they do not operate schools or their schools are closed?
 - ☐ 2. their schools have low enrolments?
 - ☐ 3. other? (specify)
4. How many of the districts with closed schools, in your opinion, do not wish dissolution due to:
- ☐ 1. a realistic hope of re-opening the school?
 - ☐ 2. current advantage in lower school taxes?
 - ☐ 3. other? (specify)
5. Please add any comment you wish to make with respect to this Part.

IV. CENTRALIZATION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

1. How many rural districts in your Division operate more than one school within the district? _____
2. Which of the following conditions today warrant the operation of more than one school by these districts?
 - () 1. size of district or poor road conditions
 - () 2. impending centralization at the Division level does not warrant the expense of bringing schools together at this time
 - () 3. other (specify) _____
3. About how many logical centers for centralized elementary schools are there in your Division? _____
4. If all schools were placed in village or town centers (not necessarily incorporated centers):
 - a) about how far would the child farthest from a school have to travel one way to school? _____ miles
 - b) what would be the approximate average distance of rural children from school? _____ miles
5. How many rural schools in your Division cannot be centralized due to their remoteness (distance, or geographical terrain)? _____
6. Please add any comment you wish to make with respect to this Part. _____

V. SHARING OF SERVICES

1. Which of the following services (other than the distribution of grants) is your Division offering to one or more districts?
 - () 1. sharing of equipment (for example, film projectors)
 - () 2. services of specialist or consultant teachers
 - () 3. pupil transportation
 - () 4. other (specify) _____
2. Is any kind of service being shared by any two or more rural districts which does not involve the Division Board?
 - () 1. yes (specify, what kind) _____
 - () 2. no

3. Please add any comment you wish to make with respect to this Part.

SECTION C: THE LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICT

- I. GENERAL (for this Part answer those items only about which you have definite knowledge through observation or otherwise):
1. The maintenance of school yards in rural districts is generally
☐ 1. better than
☐ 2. as good as
☐ 3. poorer than
it is in village or town districts.
 2. The maintenance of classrooms in rural districts is generally
☐ 1. better than
☐ 2. as good as
☐ 3. poorer than
it is in village or town districts.
 3. The equipment, supplies, and library in classrooms of rural districts is generally
☐ 1. more adequate than
☐ 2. as adequate as
☐ 3. less adequate than
in classrooms of village or town schools.
 4. How many elementary schools in your Division have
☐ 1. a supervising principal (teaching less than half time)?
☐ 2. the services of supervisors or subject consultants?
☐ 3. a secretary or office clerk (part or full time)?
 5. How many secondary schools in your Division have
☐ 1. a supervising principal (teaching less than half time)?
☐ 2. the services of supervisor, consultant, or counsellor?
☐ 3. a secretary or office clerk (part or full time)?

6. How many districts in your Division are under an official trustee?

7. Which of the following factors explain, at least in part, the continued operation of the districts by an official trustee?

- ☐ 1. lack of local interest in self-government
- ☐ 2. lack of community unity on school matters
- ☐ 3. other (specify)

8. Please add any comment you wish to make with respect to this Part.

II. THE DISTRICT COMMUNITY

1. Which of the following, in your opinion, are obstacles to the consolidation and centralization of elementary schools in your Division?

- ☐ 1. strong ethnic groups within school district boundaries
- ☐ 2. religious teaching preferences within certain districts
- ☐ 3. well-organized or active social activities within school districts
- ☐ 4. much use of the school by the residents of the district
- ☐ 5. strong community feeling or a sense of local school district history or tradition.

2. Which of the following, in your opinion, are significant factors in rural district communities of your Division, which would hinder centralization of elementary schools?

- ☐ 1. belief in the virtue of the small school
- ☐ 2. fear of losing the intimate home-school relationship
- ☐ 3. fear of loss of parental control over children
- ☐ 4. fear of loss of local school control
- ☐ 5. genuine fear of weakening the local community unit
- ☐ 6. local community pride
- ☐ 7. fear of pupil transportation dangers
- ☐ 8. fear of increasing school costs
- ☐ 9. fear of the unknown, the untried, or of change

3. Please add any comment you wish to make with respect to this Part.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

APPENDIX D

SCHOOL DIVISION AND DISTRICT REORGANIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE B
TO SCHOOL DIVISION SECRETARY-TREASURERS

(May, 1966)

University of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta.

May 11, 1966.

Dear Secretary-Treasurer:

My thesis, School District Reorganization in Manitoba, is nearing completion.

About this time last year you returned a questionnaire to me. I am grateful to you for that.

I would be very pleased if you would return the enclosed brief form to me at your earliest convenience. A stamped and addressed envelope is enclosed.

I hope to make available to you a summary of my findings for the province.

Sincerely,

John J. Bergen.

SCHOOL DIVISION AND DISTRICT REORGANIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE B

TO SCHOOL DIVISION SECRETARY-TREASURERS

1. Division: _____
2. How many consolidations (not the number of school districts involved) were completed in your Division during the 1965-66 term?
3. Were the provisions of Bill 141 (shared services to private schools) implemented at all in your Division?

If so, in what way?
4. Is there any serious consideration in your Division with respect to the implementation of the provisions of Bill 39, which would change the Division into a School Area?
5. Is there any serious consideration in your Division with respect to the provisions of Bill 16, which would result in the formation of a single-district Division?
6. Have the views of trustees and/or rate-payers changed appreciably within the last year with respect to surrendering small rural school district independence?
7. Please make any additional comment you may wish to make with respect to any aspect of school district reorganization in your Division.

Dear Secretary-Treasurer:

If you do happen to have the information conveniently tabulated for the following table, I would be pleased if you would include this sheet with your return of the questionnaire.

I do not ask you to go to the hard work of tabulating such information. I shall be grateful for any part of the indicated data you may have worked out already and readily available. The table need not be completed in its entirety in order to be of value to me.

The information can be either for the 12 months ending June 30, 1965 -- or for the 12 months ending December 31, 1965. (Kindly underline the date for which the information is given.)

Thank you,

John J. Bergen.

.....

COSTS OR EXPENDITURES FOR YOUR DIVISION

	For High Schools of the Division		For All Elementary School Districts	
	Total Cost	Cost per Student	Total Cost	Cost per Pupil
CAPITAL COSTS				
OPERATIONAL COSTS (salaries, supplies, transportation, etc.)				
TRANSPORTATION costs only				
# TOTAL COST OF EDUCATION				

Number of high school students in the Division _____

Number of elementary school pupils in the Division _____

It may be that you have data for this category only. That will be appreciated by itself.

APPENDIX E

SCHOOL DISTRICT ORGANIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE
TO TEACHERS OF RURAL SCHOOLS

(March, 1965)

SCHOOL DISTRICT ORGANIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE

TO TEACHERS OF RURAL SCHOOLS

Dear Teacher:

I have been a Manitoba teacher and principal until resuming studies in educational administration at the University of Alberta. Presently, I am conducting research about school district organization and reorganization in rural Manitoba as part of my studies. This study has been approved by the Department of Educational Administration at this University, the Canadian Education Association, the Manitoba Department of Education, and the Executive of the Manitoba Teachers' Society.

Part of the data required for this study is being collected, by means of this questionnaire, from about 400 teachers from selected School Divisions. It would be sincerely appreciated if you would assist with this study by completing the questionnaire and RETURNING IT WITHIN ONE WEEK, sealed in the stamped, return-addressed envelope provided. All information will be treated as CONFIDENTIAL.

Yours sincerely,

John J. Bergen.

INSTRUCTIONS:

This questionnaire is designed to obtain information about rural school districts, in order to discover what relationship their characteristics have to school district reorganization.

SECTION A requests information about you as the teacher.

SECTION B asks for information about your classroom.

SECTION C asks about your school (which may well be your classroom).

SECTION D asks about your school district.

SECTION E is concerned with your school district as a community.

If you are not the only teacher in your school, the senior teacher or principal only should complete the entire questionnaire. In that case the other teacher(s) should complete SECTIONS A and B only, and return the questionnaire to me.

If you are not the only teacher in your school, kindly consult with the other(s), so that at least one questionnaire completed in its entirety will be returned.

Please check (✓) the response to each item which provides the best or most correct answer you are able to give, wherever only one response is required. Please check each applicable response, wherever more than one may apply.

The name of your school district is _____.

Your district is located in the School Division of _____.

SECTION A: THE TEACHER

1. What is your total teaching experience as of June 30, 1965?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. One year | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Five years |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Two years | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. 6 to 15 years |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Three years | <input type="checkbox"/> 7. 16 to 25 years |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Four years | <input type="checkbox"/> 8. 26 years or more |

2. How many years will you have taught in your present school as of June 30, 1965?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. One year | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Five years |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Two years | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. 6 to 15 years |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Three years | <input type="checkbox"/> 7. 16 to 25 years |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Four years | <input type="checkbox"/> 8. 26 years or more |

3. Sex

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Male | <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Female |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|

4. Marital status

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Single | <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Widowed, separated, divorced |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Married | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Member of religious order |

5. Assuming that you would be teaching in September 1965, what would be your preference?

- ☐ 1. to teach in your present school
- ☐ 2. to teach in another school, but essentially of the same type as your present school
- ☐ 3. to teach in a rural school having more classrooms than your present school
- ☐ 4. to teach in a village or town school having several classrooms

6. How often have you attended a Teachers' Society Local Meeting since September 1, 1964?

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. never | <input type="checkbox"/> 3. twice |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. once | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. three or more times |

7. If you do not reside, board, etc., in the school district in which you teach, how far do you drive to school every day?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. 0 to 3 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. 10 to 12 miles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 4 to 6 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. 13 miles or more |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. 7 to 9 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. I live in the district |

8. With whom are your main social contacts during this school year?

- ☐ 1. people within the school district where you teach
☐ 2. people outside of the school district

SECTION B: THE CLASSROOM

9. About how many pupils are presently enrolled in your classroom?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. 1 to 7 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. 22 to 28 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 8 to 14 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. 29 to 34 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. 15 to 21 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. 35 or more |

10. Which of the following range of grades most closely approximates that which you teach in your classroom?

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. I to III | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. IV to VI |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. I to VI | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. IV to VIII |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. I to VIII | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. VII and VIII |

11. Are you the only teacher in your school?

- ☐ 1. yes ☐ 2. no

12. How many teachers are there in your school, including yourself?

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. one | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. 5 to 9 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. two | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. 10 to 14 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. three | <input type="checkbox"/> 7. 15 or more |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4. four | |

IF THERE IS MORE THAN ONE TEACHER IN YOUR SCHOOL, THE PRINCIPAL OR SENIOR TEACHER ONLY SHOULD COMPLETE THE QUESTIONNAIRE FROM HERE ON. (Principal: You may wish to consult with your teacher(s) with respect to some of the items.)

SECTION C: THE SCHOOL

13. Teachers sometimes would like the assistance of a specialist or consultant for certain kinds of problems. From the list below check off each of the "problems" for which you would have liked help if such had been available to you since September 1964:

- ☐ 1. very brilliant pupils
☐ 2. very slow learners
☐ 3. pupils having special difficulties in reading
☐ 4. pupils having special difficulties in arithmetic

14. From the list below check off each of the "problems" for which you would have liked help if such had been available to you since September 1964:

- () 1. pupils with social problems
() 2. pupils with emotional problems
() 3. pupils with visual defects
() 4. pupils with hearing defects
() 5. pupils with speech defects
() 6. pupils with special health problems

15. Was your school visited by a nurse or doctor since September 1964?

- () 1. yes () 2. no

How many pupils in your school have missed 10 or more days of school since September 1964 due to:

16. (a) work required at home by their parents?

- () 1. none
() 2. one or two
() 3. three or more

17. (b) lack of interest in school on the part of the pupils?

- () 1. none
() 2. one or two
() 3. three or more

18. How many pupils in your school are 15 years of age or older?

- ☐ 1. none
- ☐ 2. one or two
- ☐ 3. three or more

How many boys or girls in your school district who are 15 or 16 years old dropped out of school or did not continue to high school due to:

19. (a) work at home required by parents?

- () 1. none
() 2. one or two
() 3. three or more

20. (b) lack of interest in school on the part of the pupils?

- () 1. none
() 2. one or two
() 3. three or more

21. (c) weakness of pupils in school work?

- () 1. none
() 2. one or two
() 3. three or more

22. From the list below check off each teaching aid which is available to you in your school on a regular basis:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. radio | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. television |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. record player | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. tape recorder |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. strip-film (or slide) projector | <input type="checkbox"/> 7. duplicator (Ditto, etc.) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4. movie projector | <input type="checkbox"/> 8. other (specify) _____ |

23. About how many books in good repair are in your classroom or school library?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. less than 50 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. 200 to 300 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 50 to 100 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. 300 to 500 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. 100 to 200 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. more than 500 |

24. From the list below, check off each additional source of books available to the pupils of your school:

- ☐ 1. there is no other source
- ☐ 2. a local community library
- ☐ 3. a travelling library
- ☐ 4. "mail order" library (e.g., University of Manitoba)
- ☐ 5. other (specify) _____

25. From the list below, check off each kind of instruction some of your pupils need but do not get because the teacher(s) is not trained to provide it:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. art | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. remedial arithmetic |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. crafts | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. second language |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. music | <input type="checkbox"/> 7. other (specify) _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4. remedial reading | |

26. What second language instruction is given in your school?

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. none | <input type="checkbox"/> 3. German |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. French | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. other (specify) _____ |

27. How many families of children were transferred to your school from schools in other districts since August 1964?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. none | <input type="checkbox"/> 3. three or more |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. one or two | |

28. How many families of children were transferred from your school to schools in other districts since August, 1964?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. none | <input type="checkbox"/> 3. three or more |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. one or two | |

SECTION D: THE SCHOOL DISTRICT

29. Check the one item which most accurately describes the nature of your school district:
- ☐ 1. rural (but not consolidated)
 - ☐ 2. rural consolidated
 - ☐ 3. village or town school district (including an incorporated village or town)
 - ☐ 4. municipal school district
30. If your school is in a municipal school district, is your school governed by any school board or school committee in your school "community" other than by the municipal school district board?
- ☐ 1. yes (specify) _____
 - ☐ 2. no
 - ☐ 3. my school is not in a municipal school district
31. Which statement below describes your school district authority?
- ☐ 1. an elected school board
 - ☐ 2. an official trustee
32. Which item below most accurately describes the location of your school?
- ☐ 1. in open farm country
 - ☐ 2. in a hamlet or village with a population of 50 or less
 - ☐ 3. in an urban center with a population of 50 to 200
 - ☐ 4. in an urban center with a population of 200 to 500
 - ☐ 5. in an urban center with a population of 500 to 1,000
 - ☐ 6. in an urban center with a population of 1,000 or more
33. About how old is your school building?
- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. one or two years | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. 7 to 10 years |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. three or four years | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. 11 to 20 years |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. five or six years | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. more than 20 years |
34. Which of the statements below is true about your school district?
- ☐ 1. there is only one school in the district
 - ☐ 2. there are two or more schools in the district located one or more miles from each other
35. Which item most correctly describes the provision of supplies and equipment for your school?
- ☐ 1. prompt or adequate
 - ☐ 2. not adequate or often delayed
 - ☐ 3. often refused when requested

36. Which item most correctly describes the care given to your school building or school yard?
- ☐ 1. very satisfactory
 - ☐ 2. fair
 - ☐ 3. unsatisfactory
37. From the list below, check off each item which was improved since August 1964:
- ☐ 1. the appearance of your school yard
 - ☐ 2. the appearance of your school in general
 - ☐ 3. the appearance of your classroom(s)
 - ☐ 4. washing and sanitary facilities
 - ☐ 5. heating or ventilation
 - ☐ 6. lighting
38. From the list below, check off each item which describes improvements since August 1964:
- ☐ 1. improvement or repair of equipment
 - ☐ 2. addition of new equipment
 - ☐ 3. improvement in quantity of supplies
 - ☐ 4. addition of at least \$50.00 value in books to the library
39. Which one of the following statements is most accurate?
- ☐ 1. you know none of your school board members personally
 - ☐ 2. you know the chairman or secretary personally
 - ☐ 3. you know the chairman and one or more other board members personally
 - ☐ 4. you know all of the board members personally
40. Does your school board invite you to attend its meetings?
- ☐ 1. never
 - ☐ 2. sometimes
 - ☐ 3. usually, or always
41. Does your school board request that you bring school needs to their attention?
- ☐ 1. not at all
 - ☐ 2. sometimes
 - ☐ 3. regularly, or it is understood that you should feel free to contact the board at any time about school needs

42. Does your school share some services (such as equipment or library books) with schools of other districts?
- ☐ 1. there is no such sharing
 - ☐ 2. there is sharing, arranged by teachers only
 - ☐ 3. there is sharing, arranged between school boards at the requests of teachers
 - ☐ 4. there is sharing, arranged between school boards upon their own initiative
43. Does your school receive any services rendered by the School Division Board?
- ☐ 1. no
 - ☐ 2. yes (specify, what kind) _____
44. Does your school district provide pupil transportation?
- ☐ 1. yes
 - ☐ 2. no
45. How many of your pupils usually walk to school?
- ☐ 1. none
 - ☐ 2. less than half
 - ☐ 3. about half
 - ☐ 4. more than half
 - ☐ 5. all
46. How many of your pupils are regularly transported to school by their parents or by members of the family?
- ☐ 1. none
 - ☐ 2. less than half
 - ☐ 3. about half
 - ☐ 4. more than half
 - ☐ 5. all
47. How many of your pupils come to school by regularly driving their own horse-drawn vehicle?
- ☐ 1. none
 - ☐ 2. less than half
 - ☐ 3. about half
 - ☐ 4. more than half
 - ☐ 5. all
48. About how far from school is the pupil who lives farthest from school in your district?
- ☐ 1. one mile or less
 - ☐ 2. 2 miles
 - ☐ 3. 3 miles
 - ☐ 4. 4 miles
 - ☐ 5. 5 or 6 miles
 - ☐ 6. 7 or 8 miles
 - ☐ 7. 9 or 10 miles
 - ☐ 8. 11 miles or more

SECTION E: THE SCHOOL DISTRICT COMMUNITY

49. How far is the nearest neighboring school from your school?
- ☐ 1. 0 to 2 miles
 - ☐ 2. 3 to 5 miles
 - ☐ 3. 6 to 8 miles
 - ☐ 4. 9 to 11 miles
 - ☐ 5. 12 to 14 miles
 - ☐ 6. 15 miles or more

50. How far is your school from the nearest village or town (population 50 or more)?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. 0 to 2 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. 9 to 11 miles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 3 to 5 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. 12 to 14 miles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. 6 to 8 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. 15 or more miles |

51. How far do most of the people in your school district travel in order to shop for household needs?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. 0 to 2 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. 12 to 14 miles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 3 to 5 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. 15 to 17 miles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. 6 to 8 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 7. 18 to 20 miles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4. 9 to 11 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 8. 21 or more miles |

52. How far do most of the church-going people of your school district travel in order to go to church?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. 0 to 2 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. 12 to 14 miles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 3 to 5 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. 15 to 17 miles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. 6 to 8 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 7. 18 to 20 miles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4. 9 to 11 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 8. 21 or more miles |

53. How far do most of the people of your school district travel in order to see a doctor or get to a hospital?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. 0 to 2 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. 12 to 14 miles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 3 to 5 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. 15 to 17 miles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. 6 to 8 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 7. 18 to 20 miles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4. 9 to 11 miles | <input type="checkbox"/> 8. 21 or more miles |

54. How many churches are located within your school district?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. none | <input type="checkbox"/> 3. two |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. one | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. three or more |

55. The center which serves most of the social and day-to-day business needs of your school district is:

- ☐ 1. a village of under 100 population
- ☐ 2. a village of 100 to 500 population
- ☐ 3. a village of 500 to 1,500 population
- ☐ 4. a town of 1,500 to 2,500 population
- ☐ 5. a town of 2,500 to 10,000 population
- ☐ 6. a city of over 10,000 population

56. Is a general store (no matter how small) located within your school district?

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 2. no |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|

57. From the list below, check off each type of recreation available within your school district:
- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. socials or parties | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. ball games |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. dances | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. curling |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. movies | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. hockey |
58. How many families in your school district have children, who finished school recently, employed away from the home district?
- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. none | <input type="checkbox"/> 3. several |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. one or two | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. half or more |
59. How many farmers in your school district seek additional employment elsewhere?
- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. none | <input type="checkbox"/> 3. several |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. one or two | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. half or more |
60. How many families farm in your school district, but live in a village or town where their children also attend school?
- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. none | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 several |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. one or two | |
61. Was a Christmas concert held in your school this term?
- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 2. no |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
62. Has your school been used by the people of your district for a dance, a church service, or some other non-school activity since August 1964?
- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 2. no |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
63. Has a school picnic been held since August 1964, or is one planned prior to school-closing in June, which will involve parents or residents of your school district?
- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 2. no |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
64. Has there been a parents' visiting day for your school since August 1964, or is one planned for this term?
- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 2. no |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
65. Does the school board expect you to reside in your school district?
- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 2. no |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
66. Does your school board expect you to participate in local school district social or religious activities?
- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 2. no |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|

67. What proportion of the school district population is made up by the largest racial or ethnic group in your district?
- ☐ 1. 90 per cent or more
 - ☐ 2. between 75 per cent and 90 per cent
 - ☐ 3. between 50 per cent and 75 per cent
 - ☐ 4. less than 50 per cent
68. How many racial or ethnic groups are there in your school district?
- ☐ 1. one
 - ☐ 2. two
 - ☐ 3. three
 - ☐ 4. four
 - ☐ 5. five
 - ☐ 6. six
69. How well do the racial or ethnic groups in your school district mix socially?
- ☐ 1. completely, or with no difficulty
 - ☐ 2. fairly well
 - ☐ 3. poorly
 - ☐ 4. not at all
 - ☐ 5. there is only one group
70. Does the kind of racial or ethnic groups in surrounding school districts vary from that in your school district?
- ☐ 1. not at all
 - ☐ 2. somewhat
 - ☐ 3. considerably

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Please return as soon as possible to:

John J. Bergen,
548 Education Building,
University of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta.

Use the stamped, return-addressed envelope provided.

APPENDIX F

QUESTIONNAIRE TO PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION

(July, 1965)

SAMPLE OF LETTER SENT TO EACH DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Department of Educational Administration,
University of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta.

July 9, 1965.

Mr. G. W. Graham,
Assistant Superintendent of Education
(Administration),
Department of Education,
Legislative Building,
Victoria, British Columbia.

Dear Mr. Graham:

I am writing a doctoral thesis on "School District Reorganization in Rural Manitoba." I am conducting this study under the direction of Dr. H. T. Sparby, my thesis advisor, and with the approval of the Department of Educational Administration at this University.

In order to discuss some of my observations in a larger or comparative context, I need some information from each of the Canadian provinces.

I would be very pleased if you would yourself, or have the person in your Department who is involved in matters of school district organization, react as completely as possible to the enclosed questions. Kindly elaborate upon any item, as you may see fit to do so.

Two forms are enclosed for your convenience. Please return one only.

A return-addressed stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Respectfully yours,

John J. Bergen.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

PART ONE¹

According to the 1962-63 Annual Report (p.36) there are
84 large school districts, and
17 small school districts in British Columbia.

Of the large school districts,
73 are municipal school districts, and
11 are rural school districts.

With reference to the above:

1. How many of the 73 municipal school districts are urban only?
2. Do any of the 17 small districts provide elementary (or grades one to ten) education only? _____ If so, how many? _____
3. About how many elementary (or grades one to ten) schools in operation in the province are one-room schools? _____
4. About how many of the one-room schools are not centralized due to their geographical isolation? _____
5. a) How many districts are under an official trustee? _____
b) Why are official trustees appointed for unattached school districts -- i.e., why are not boards elected?
6. Is any further reorganization of school districts currently being planned? Please elaborate.
7. Is any school district reorganization permissive with respect to local choice or initiative, or is this entirely a prerogative of the Department of Education? Please elaborate.

¹Part One varied according to specific information asked with respect to each province.

PART TWO

(In this Part, interpret "school district" as meaning any school administrative unit, large or small, under the jurisdiction of one Board.)

BY LEGISLATION OR PRACTICE, IS PROVISION MADE FOR THE FOLLOWING WITH RESPECT TO SCHOOL DISTRICT REORGANIZATION:

1. A provincial commission or agency (or department or branch of the Department of Education) for province-wide planning? _____
2. Regional or local planning committees? _____
3. Professional personnel (these may be personnel of the Department of Education) to assist any local planning? _____
4. Specific directions or suggestions (handbooks, etc.) for local planning? _____
5. a) Are referenda necessary in order to reorganize school districts? _____
 b) If so, are such referenda mandatory, or do they follow upon request (petition, etc.) of the local electorate?
6. Must the location of new school buildings have the approval of a provincial authority? _____
7. Must the construction of new school buildings have the approval of a provincial authority? _____
8. Is the disorganization (dissolution) of school districts which do not operate schools (or which have closed schools due to insufficient enrolment) mandatory? _____
9. Is the centralization of small rural schools mandatory?
10. Is there any provision for the sharing of services between school administrative units (such as transportation, specialist personnel, etc.)? _____

PART THREESCHOOL GRANTS

(Grants with respect to capital costs, operational costs, conveyance of pupils, pupil enrolment, small rural districts, etc.)

- A. Is the nature of the provincial school grant structure such that it might:
- 1) encourage the formation of larger school districts?
 - 2) encourage the smaller districts to join larger administrative units?
 - 3) encourage the dissolution of districts which do not operate schools, or which operate schools with low enrolments?
 - 4) encourage the consolidation of small rural districts?
 - 5) encourage the construction of small rural schools?
 - 6) encourage the centralization of small rural schools?
- B. How are assets and liabilities of individual school districts disposed of when two or more districts consolidate, or become part of a larger administrative unit?
- C. 1) Does the province pay to school districts some grants which are independent of moneys raised through the local school assessment (i.e. grants which are not affected by any province-wide equalization formula)? _____

Give examples:

PART THREE (continued)

- C. 2) Does the basic mill rate depend upon the wealth or assessment of the district (i.e., an equalization formula or foundation program varies the portion of school revenue raised through local taxation by each district)? _____
- 3) Is there provision for an establishment grant for new or for reorganized districts? _____
- 4) Are certain types of grants available to larger or reorganized districts only? _____
- 5) Are certain types of grants specified for the assistance of small and/or poor districts? _____
- 6) Are "isolation" grants (or bonus payments towards teachers, salaries, etc.) paid to remote or isolated districts? _____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE.

John J. Bergen.

